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PUBLIC LECTURES
ON
ANCIENT & MODERN HISTORY.



PUBLIC LECTURES

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

Catholic University of Ireland,

ON SOME SUBJECTS OF

ANCIENT & MODERN HISTORY,

IN THE YEARS 1856, 1857, & 1858.

BY

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TO THE
VERY REV. JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, D.D.

Superior of the Birmingham Congregation of the Oratory,

IN TOKEN OF
GRATITUDE FOR MANY FAVOURS RECEIVED,
AND OF
PROFOUND ADMIRATION FOR HIS GENIUS AND VIRTUES,
THE FOLLOWING LECTURES

ARE RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY HIS OBLIGED FRIEND,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

SOME of the following Lectures, delivered within the last two or three years before the Catholic University of Dublin, were, through the kindness of the editors of two journals of that capital, the *Telegraph* and the *Tablet*, inserted in their columns. They now appear considerably enlarged, and incorporated with others which have never before been published. They may be regarded in the light of specimens; and should they meet with a kind approval from the public, will be followed in due time by others.

These Lectures are divided under the two heads of Ancient and Modern History; yet, though apparently miscellaneous, a secret bond of connection will be found to hold the members of each division together.

The inaugural Lecture shadows out some of the subjects treated in the three following. The second and third Lectures, on Phœnicia and her colonies, are, from the very nature of the subject, closely connected. The fourth Lecture, on Egypt, follows not, I think, inappropriately; for not only

did Phœnicia draw from the latter country many articles for her commerce, but many elements of her religious system.

In some of the geographical notices on Phœnicia and Egypt, I must record my obligations to Dr. Smith's elaborate "Dictionary of Ancient Geography," to Professor Heeren's work on the "Polity and Commerce of Ancient Nations," and especially to Dr. Allioli's "Biblical Archæology," whose very words have occasionally been used without express acknowledgment in the text.

On the more important points of Ancient Geography, connected with the subjects here treated, I have carefully consulted the original authorities, such as Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and Stephanus Byzantinus. And under the head of Phœnician and Carthaginian colonies, I have been able, I believe, to glean a few facts, which had escaped the research of even so careful an investigator as Heeren.

On the religion of Phœnicia and her colonies, the elaborate work of the German ecclesiastic, Dr. Movers, throws a broad light. The Politics of Aristotle is the chief authority in all that relates to the political institutions of Carthage. But on this topic, as well as on the maritime and inland trade of that Republic, the above-cited work of Heeren supplies much valuable information. His statements have been compared with those of other modern writers.

With respect to Egypt, its language and history come not within the scope of my observations, and are but briefly touched on. Here, however, among other guides, I have chiefly followed Sir J. G. Wilkinson in the valuable annotations he has appended to Mr. Rawlinson's recently published translation of Herodotus.

Under the head of Modern History are classed the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth Lectures. These, too, may at first sight seem to bear not much relationship with each other; but a nearer inspection will prove the contrary.

In the fifth Lecture I give an outline of what I conceive to be the theory of the Christian state. Then I trace in the political institutions of Spain those important changes which, begun under Ferdinand the Catholic and Charles V., and consummated under Philip II., brought down that great country from a condition of healthful vigour to one of slow-wasting decline.

In the sixth Lecture, conformably with the political principles laid down in the foregoing, I describe the various evolutions and perturbations of our own remarkable Constitution, showing how far it has developed, and how far it has deviated from, the type of the old Christian temperate monarchy.

In the seventh and eighth Lectures I endeavour to sound the causes, moral and political, of that great disrupture of the social bonds which

occurred in France in 1789; causes which, in the opinion of a very influential literary periodical,* have never been satisfactorily explained.

This Revolution was the most memorable lesson ever given to mankind, and assuredly it well behoves us to study it. It well behoves us to study its causes, moral and political, and to learn the conditions on which, and on which only, depend the stability, the freedom, and the glory of states.

For a theme so arduous and so complicated, and which for sixty years has exercised so many lofty intellects, none can be more sensible of his inability than the writer himself. But there are certain advantages he possesses which, in some measure, may make up for his natural deficiencies.

In his religious creed he has a key to the solution of many political problems; and a candid Protestant will perhaps allow, that a great moral and social revolution in a Catholic country will require, to some extent at least, for its explanation, a practical knowledge of Catholic principles.†

* The *London Quarterly Review* some years ago made this remark.

† It was not only his great genius, but his warm sympathies for the Catholic Church, that enabled our illustrious Burke to divine so well the import of the French Revolution. He was one of those chosen spirits of Protestantism, that like a Grotius, a Leibnitz, a Haller, and a Dr. Johnson, had such strong yearnings and aspirations after Catholic truth. On the other hand, there have been estimable English writers, like Southey, Sir Walter

It was also the writer's lot to have passed several years of his youth in the country where this Revolution had its birth, and at a later period to have long resided in the land which, more than any other, felt its rebound. In those two countries, France and Germany, it was his good fortune to have enjoyed the society, and sometimes the friendship, of men eminent in the Church, or in the State, or in letters, and who themselves, or whose fathers, had been the witnesses and the victims of those great social changes; or who again, placed at a greater distance, had been calmer and more disinterested witnesses of these mighty events. Hence he has been able to compare the results of the personal experience of some, with those of the more unbiassed judgments of others. Hence he has been able to study the effects of this Revolution in different countries; and to see how the same political sentiments are modified by diversities of national character. Hence he has been able to compare foreign institutions with those of his own country; and by such comparison enabled better to discern what was local and accidental in those institutions, what universal and essential. Hence, though devoid of the political experience which

Scott, and Sir A. Alison, who, in their conflict with the principles of this Revolution, have been hampered by their sectarian bigotry, and have never been able to rise to the political Catholicism of Burke.

official life affords, foreign travel and observation, and converse with most distinguished publicists and practical politicians, have gone far to supply the place of such experience.

It was these external advantages, foreign to any merit of his own, which induced the writer to undertake a task from which he would otherwise have shrunk.

With the sanction of eminent personages at home, as well as of distinguished publicists abroad,* he combated for fifteen years in the pages of a Catholic periodical the political as well as the religious errors of his age. True to those political doctrines with which he started at the outset of his literary career, he has ever upheld the principles of temperate monarchy, ever contended against the false absolutism as well as against the false liberalism, and striven to show the points of analogy between absolute power and the revolutionary democracy. Never separating order and liberty in his theory, nor in his affections, he then foretold that they would both flourish and prosper, in proportion as the holy Catholic faith spread through Europe, and struck deeper roots in the minds of men.†

* I may name the illustrious Görres, and the late Dr. Jarcke more especially, who, after Görres, was the greatest political writer of Germany.

† *Vide* my Memoir of F. Schlegel, prefixed to my translation of his "Philosophy of History."—Saunders

And during the twenty-three years that have elapsed since that prediction was made, we have seen that the principles of temperate monarchy have kept pace with the wider diffusion of the Catholic faith. The extraordinary events that ten years ago shook society to its foundations, have, by an overruling Providence, been made conducive to the freedom and the glory of the Church; and the conservative reaction has been equally strong, but well-regulated withal. In those countries where the Revolution had been most violent, royalty and aristocracy are now regarded as essential, indispensable elements in the social organization of a great state. There not only has the full spiritual independence of the Church been guaranteed, but a close alliance with her invoked by the civil power. Church property has been looked on as especially sacred; and a confiscation of church revenues as calculated to undermine every description of property. The rights of the parent over the education of the child have been fully acknowledged. But, at the same time, the need of popular self-government has been equally recognized. Large municipal

and Otley, London, 1835; 2 vols. 8vo. The generous Protestant critic who, in the *Athenæum* (December, 1835), treated my performance with such extreme indulgence, and who seemed surprised at the prediction, must on a calm review of the years that have intervened, acknowledge that I was not a very bad prophet.

franchises, provincial parliaments with well-defined rights, a moderate freedom of the press, protection of the citizen from arbitrary arrests, publication of the state of the finances, have been acknowledged to be necessary elements of good government; and when not carried into effect, formally promised.

But before the old balance of political institutions can be restored, the moral equilibrium must be re-established in minds. The terrific tempest that has swept over the ocean, has left a swell on its surface, that will long impede navigation.

DUBLIN, EASTER TUESDAY.

26th April, 1859.

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ANCIENT HISTORY.

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INAUGURAL LECTURE.

LECTURE I.

**PRELIMINARY REMARKS—THE WRITER'S FIRST LITERARY EFFORTS
ENCOURAGED BY THE ILLUSTRIOUS O'CONNELL—THE WRITER'S
CONNECTION WITH THE "DUBLIN REVIEW"—IRELAND'S PAST
AND IRELAND'S FUTURE—GEOGRAPHY CONSIDERED IN ITS
RELATIONS TO HISTORY.**

As this is the first occasion on which I have had the honour of addressing you, permit me, before entering upon the subject of this evening's lecture, to make a few preliminary remarks. Although this is the first time in my life I have trod your shores, I cannot consider myself a stranger in your hospitable land. How, indeed,—connected as I am with that country by the bonds of a common faith, by family ties, by friendships with her sons in other countries, by literary fellowship with distinguished members of the Irish clergy and laity in a journal founded by your illustrious Liberator—how could I feel myself other than at home in this interesting country? The great man whom I have just alluded to kindly encouraged my first literary efforts; and when, in the noble view of uniting English and Irish Catholics in defence of their faith and the cultivation of literature, he founded the journal in question, he honoured me with a request for my

co-operation. On that occasion, in the very first number of that journal, I expressed my conviction that the time was not distant when the religious and literary glories of Ireland's early days would revive; and if I may take the liberty of citing my own words, I concluded my observations as follows:—"Sons of Erin, no longer despond: the night is nearly passed, and the light of a new intellectual day begins to peer above the mountain-tops."

When I wrote these words, many years ago, I little imagined that the humble individual now addressing you would ever have had the honour of being connected with an institution which would seem one of the means appointed by Divine Providence for bringing about the happy consummation referred to—an institution founded by the venerable Hierarchy of Ireland, sanctioned and encouraged by the Holy See, supported by the generous sacrifices of the people of this country, as well as of the Catholics of Great Britain and America, presided over by an illustrious writer and theologian, and to which so many distinguished men have lent their co-operation.

But was I wrong in my anticipations? Was I wrong in hoping that a people blessed with so many gifts of nature and of grace—a people which had played so glorious a part in the early ages of Christendom—would not be backward in aiding that great Catholic regeneration of art, literature, and science, which is the glorious mission reserved for the nineteenth century? How could I look back on the glories of Ireland's past, contemplate the energies of her present, and feel despondent as to her future? You know her eventful history far better than myself, and it is almost presumptuous

in me to call your attention to it. You know how, as if in anticipation of the marvellous destinies she was to accomplish under the Christian dispensation, this island was called, even in mythic antiquity, "the sacred isle;" how, even in her days of heathenism, she had been less defiled with idolatry than almost any other Gentile land; how, when the time of her visitation had arrived, and Christianity had been introduced to her knowledge, she gave the Church so warm and kindly a reception, that the Divine Guest hath never since quitted her roof. You know how the Emerald Isle was spared by the waves of the barbaric invasion which overswept the whole Roman Empire—how she became the nurse of learning and piety—how she sent forth teachers and missionaries to so many nations, in whose hearts and tabernacles her memory is still enshrined. You know again how, when evil days had come on, and Christendom had been rent asunder by heresy, this island set, for two hundred and fifty years, the example of such heroic constancy and fortitude under persecution so unprecedented, that her name has gone forth among the nations as the very symbol of fidelity; how, too, even in her hour of depression, she helped to save the British monarchy; how she woke to a new life in the eighteenth century, and in the course of fifty years began and terminated that glorious struggle for her religious liberties, that not only issued in her own emancipation, but has materially contributed to the enfranchisement of the Church in Belgium, and more recently in Austria and in France.

How, then, could it be supposed that such a country would remain stationary amid the great

religious movement of the present century? How could it be supposed, too, that a land which, under the most adverse circumstances, had achieved so much for literature—a land “whose waste”—to use the words of the poet—“was more rich than other climes’ fertility”—the parent of illustrious orators, statesmen, and poets—the home of high thought and brilliant imagination, of genial wit and fervid eloquence—the country of Burke and O’Connell, of O’Leary and Doyle, of Grattan, Plunket, Shiel, and Moore,—that that land, I say, would lag in the race of intellectual improvement?

In concluding these remarks, I can only hope and pray that my early anticipations may be fully realized, and that this University may prove not only an instrument of union among all Catholics of the British empire, but the token of a new moral and intellectual life.

I regret to have detained your attention so long, and will now proceed to the subject of the evening’s lecture,—

GEOGRAPHY CONSIDERED IN ITS RELATIONS TO HISTORY.

I bespeak your indulgence to the imperfections of a first essay; and the more so when you consider the difficulties which beset the subject, and that I am here almost without guidance; for I am aware of no writer who has treated the matter from the point of view here taken.

DIVISION OF THE SUBJECT.

I shall begin by defining the nature, object, and limits of geography, and then proceed to show the

points of resemblance and points of difference between historical geography and historical philosophy.

I shall afterwards point out what distinguished intellects have in all ages cultivated this science, and shall then prove its intrinsic interest and importance.

Lastly, I shall adduce, by way of illustration and example, several subjects, where geography subserves the purposes of history, and even supplies its deficiencies.

DEFINITION OF GEOGRAPHICAL SCIENCE.

Geography is the science which describes the astronomical situation of the various regions of the earth, their physical configuration and properties, their natural and their political divisions, as well as their social condition in successive periods of their history. This science takes its form from astronomy, receives its matter from geology, natural history, and ethnography, on the one hand, and from statistics and archæology on the other, and runs parallel with history. Geography, in itself, is not astronomy, nor geology, nor natural history, nor ethnography, nor statistics, nor archæology, nor even history; but from all these sciences it borrows more or less. Our business at present is not with physical, but with historical geography; or with the earth considered as the abode of nations at various periods of history.

The geographical treatise occupies a middle place between the book of travels and the historical work; and while it has its own distinctive characteristics, it partakes of the properties of both. Like the book of travels, it describes the site of

countries, their aspect and physical condition, as well as the cities which, with their various monuments, adorn them. But how different is the treatment of the matter in either work! The descriptions of the traveller are more *subjective*,—that is, bear the stamp of his own individual feelings; those of the geographer are more *objective*,—that is, represent objects as they are in themselves, independently of personal impressions. The descriptions of the traveller ought to have a poetic colouring, because such only can reflect that ideal which lies in the great works of Nature as well as of human genius. The descriptions of the geographer must be in a tone more temperate and subdued, in order not to impair the topographical exactness of his statements. The former, in describing the productions of nature and of human skill, aims at setting forth the harmony of parts, and the general design and import of the whole; the latter strives to depict, with a sort of mathematical precision, each separate part of those objects, irrespective of their relative bearings and of their general meaning. The representations of one have the vivid, luminous expression belonging to true art; those of the other the hard, painful minuteness of the daguerreotype. In a word, the book of travels ought to be a work of art; the treatise of geography a work of science.

Now let us observe the points of resemblance and of difference between historical philosophy and historical geography.

Firstly—Historical philosophy begins with Divine revelation, and traces the moral and intellectual advances and retrogressions of man in the course of ages. Historical geography commences with an account of man's habitation—the earth;

describes the relations between him and Nature, and, pre-supposing Divine revelation, sketches the history of the human race under the Divine government.

Secondly—Historical philosophy traces the internal development of institutions, religious and political, as well as their external influence. Historical geography, confining its observation more to outward things, states but the general character and the general effects of institutions.

Thirdly—History deals in the delineation of public characters, and in the narration of public events. Geography almost ignores individual characters, takes but an incidental notice of events, and bestows all its attention on laws, manners, customs, and institutions.

Fourthly—The former depicts individuals, as well as the masses; the latter the masses only.

Fifthly—The descriptions of one are more psychological, those of the other more anthropological.

Sixthly—Historical philosophy considers nations more in their political relations; historical geography more according to the affinities of race and language.

Seventhly—The former takes but a casual glance of the barbarian and the savage, and fixes its eye almost exclusively on the children of civilization; the latter embraces in its descriptions barbarian and savage, as well as civilized states.

Lastly—While history assimilates various knowledge to an unity of purpose, geography is the reservoir of many sciences, where, however, they appear rather in their positive results, than in their argumentative process.

Such are the points of difference and the points of similitude between history and geography. Their intimate relation is expressed in the very words, "Ancient Geography," "Modern Geography," "Political Geography," and the like. Further, this relation is evinced in the fact that the same men have frequently cultivated both branches of learning; as also in the circumstance that historians often preface their narrative of events with a geographical survey of the countries where those events occurred.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF GEOGRAPHICAL SCIENCE.

Now, with respect to the history of geographical science, it is not a little remarkable that though in ancient Greece, as in other countries, history in its origin was closely allied with poetry, yet when the former began to assume a distinct shape, it then, if I may so speak, grew out of geography. Those first prose historians who preceded Herodotus, and fragments of whose writings yet subsist, gave to their countrymen the results of their extensive travels in Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt, and Persia, describing their provinces, coasts, and islands, and recording the history of their cities and more celebrated temples. Such were the prose writers, or *Λογόγραφοι*, as they are called, who flourished in the latter half of the sixth century before our Lord, like Cadmus and Hecataeus of Miletus, Acusilaus of Argos, Pherecydes of Leros, Charon of Lampsacus, and Hellanicus of Lesbos. Indeed, the earliest treatise of geography, at least in the Grecian world, was composed by one of those old historians, Hecataeus of Miletus, and which he entitled *Περιήγησις*, or the

Geographical Itinerary. To these early topographers and legendary writers succeeded the inquisitive traveller, the lively narrator, the truth-telling Herodotus, whose glory it is to have first imparted to history her true purport and dignity. But the father of history is as much a geographer as an historian. It is thus the sciences in their infancy evince the unity of their origin, and intertwine with each other, till in a later period of development they branch off in separate directions; like sisters, who grow up together in childhood, and then are separated by the events of later life.

When geography became a special discipline, or branch of learning, it was cultivated by distinguished intellects, sometimes in conjunction with history, sometimes independently of it. And, indeed, the fact that the greatest minds have at all periods, even down to the present age, bestowed much time and attention on this study, is itself a proof of its great interest and importance. In later antiquity, when the practical sciences became more the subjects of investigation, geography, especially in the school of Alexandria, was cultivated with great success. One of its most distinguished ornaments, Eratosthenes, eminent alike in philology and the mathematics, enlarged the boundaries of the science. Not to speak of professed geographers, like the learned and judicious Strabo, the terse Pomponius Mela, the elegant and laborious compiler Pliny, and the practical Ptolemy, Diodorus Siculus contains much geographical matter; and the elegant and critical historian Arrian, by his description of India and its inhabitants, and the periplus of the Euxine, which some have attributed to him, rendered the greatest services to geography.

In modern times, to name but a few examples of the union of geographical and historical learning, the historian of "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" possessed the most exquisite geographical lore; and his geographical chapters are not, perhaps, the least interesting and attractive of his work. The historian of America, who had evinced so much familiarity with this science, closed his literary career with a treatise more geographical than historical—I mean his disquisition "On the Commerce of the Ancients with India"—his most finished production. I purposely pass over the professional cultivators of the science, like the celebrated D'Anville, in France, the renovator of Ancient Geography, and in our own country, Pinkerton, and that able commentator on Herodotus, Major Rennell. To say nothing of the labours of the French academicians for the last two centuries on this subject, the geography of Asia has been in our times much indebted to the French orientalists, Abel Remusat and Saint Martin, as well as to our own Sanscrit scholars of Calcutta and London. While in France, during the present age, geography has been treated with great learning and elegance by Gosselin, Malte-Brun, Walckenaere, and Huot; and in Italy, with much precision and exactness, by the distinguished ethnographer Balbi; a man of brilliant imagination, like Chateaubriand, to whom one should have imagined such pursuits foreign, has given a brief, indeed, but very spirited sketch of the history of the science.

As to Germany, in recent times, so far from geography being there abandoned to dry statisticians and vulgar compilers, illustrious scholars and thinkers have devoted some an exclusive, others

a considerable attention to the subject. While a new light has been thrown on ancient geography by the labours of Mannert, Uckert, and others; and universal geography has been treated with consummate erudition, and in a most philosophic spirit, by Ritter; historians, philologists, and naturalists have borne a conspicuous part in the cultivation, and even promotion, of this branch of knowledge. The works of the great historians, Heeren and Niebuhr, evince a most masterly acquaintance with the subject. The celebrated naturalist, Alexander Von Humboldt, and the Orientalist, Klaproth, so skilled in the languages of Central Asia, have enlarged the boundaries of the science. Lastly, the late Catholic professor of Munich, the illustrious Görres, a man of universal learning, and one of the profoundest and most comprehensive intellects that ever meditated on history, closed his glorious career with a treatise entitled, "The Exodus of the Japhetites from Armenia;" a most luminous commentary on the tenth chapter of Genesis; and wherein, to those lofty philosophic views with which he had long familiarised the world, he united the minutest knowledge of geographical details.

I have not been here sketching a history of geographical science, nor tracing an account of its most celebrated masters; but my sole object has been to show that men of the greatest erudition, the highest imaginative powers, and the most philosophic minds have not disdained this pursuit.

INTEREST AND IMPORTANCE OF GEOGRAPHICAL STUDIES.

Now, as to the intrinsic interest of these studies,

who will deny that they possess a considerable charm? Who will say that the *naïve* pictures of the manners and customs of the Scythian and African tribes in Herodotus—or that the voyage of Nearchus, the admiral of Alexander the Great, along the sterile shores of the ancient Gedrosia, or modern Beloochistan, and wherein he describes the habits of the Ichthyophagi, or its fish-eating tribes,—who will say that all these descriptions of countries and their inhabitants, falling strictly, as they do, within the province of geography, are matters of less interest than the sieges and battles of a Cyrus and an Alexander? Is Hanno's voyage of discovery and colonization along the western coasts of Africa—a voyage in which by two thousand years he anticipated the daring efforts of the Portuguese navigators of the fifteenth century—a subject less attractive than the campaigns of his celebrated countryman, Hannibal? Or, to come down to modern times, are the adventures of that intrepid mariner, who, as the English poet says,

“For many a day and many a joyless night
Fought with mad seas,”

till he at last doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and by his skill and courage opened to Portugal the treasures of India, less interesting than the political intrigues carried on by his contemporary, Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Spain? Or are the struggles of that illustrious admiral, who, upheld by his trust in Divine Providence, and following with unshaken constancy the magnet of his own sagacious mind, realized the long, vague anticipation of ages, confirmed the old Egyptian tradition recorded by Plato as to the lost island of Atlantis,

and to the astonished eyes of mankind revealed a new world,—are his struggles, I say, a matter of less interest and moment than the wars of Charles V. and Philip II. and the intricate negotiations of their diplomacy? And again, amid the frequent wars of the last century, springing, as they sometimes did, out of such frivolous causes, do not the noble voyages of discovery conducted by a Cook and a Bougainville, and which brought before our startled gaze the vast Archipelago of the Pacific Ocean, and gave a new world to commerce and to science—do not these voyages constitute a most pleasing episode? And if history, by showing us the sudden elevation and downfall of the great ones of the earth, and the rise and extinction of successive kingdoms and empires, inculcates the lesson of the instability of all human greatness—geography, too, tells us the same tale. Is her teaching less impressive than that of history, when she leads us over the broken aqueduct, and the choked-up canal, through plains once blooming with fertility, and now usurped by the sands of the desert? or when she conducts us through the majestic remains of cities—the dead mistresses of empire, once rife with the busy hum of commerce and the sounds of revelry—the theatres of human wit and eloquence,—where, too, were celebrated the shows of martial glory, and the sacred pomps of religion, and now the abode of savage beasts, doomed to the solitude of desolation and the reign of an eternal silence, interrupted only by the cry of the jackal, and the screech of the birds of night?

Thus has geography an interest peculiar to itself; but its importance must rise in our estimation, when we reflect that on certain matters, which it

treats either exclusively, or more in detail than history, it is enabled to subserve the purposes of the latter, and even to supply its deficiencies. Of these matters three examples may be alleged, and to these I shall now take the liberty of calling your attention.

GEOGRAPHY CONSIDERED WITH RESPECT TO LOCAL AND CLIMATIC INFLUENCES.

These are, first, local and climatic influences; secondly, barbarian and savage life; and thirdly, archæology, as far as it relates to the religious, domestic, and political usages and institutions and artistic monuments of ancient nations.

With regard to the first point, I here understand by climatic and local influences, not only those of climate, and of the situation, soil, and products of a country, but the physical organization and the moral and intellectual character of its inhabitants.

In his state of original justice and innocence, man was independent of climatic influences. As his intelligence and will were in subjection to God, so his body and all its senses and faculties were in due subordination to that intelligence and that will so happily regulated. His light, ethereal body was the fitting organ of a pure and luminous soul. But when, by his rebellion against his Lord and Maker, he had lost his true freedom, then the earth, which had before yielded her fruits to him in spontaneous abundance, became smitten with barrenness; then his corporeal faculties became more gross, usurped too exclusive a dominion over his soul, and were in turn subjected to the influences of physical nature. Hence that

rule over nature, originally imparted to man, was now weakened and disputed. Hence, too, his history, subsequent to his fall, shows a struggle for the mastery between his intelligence and external nature, or a mutual action and re-action of the two upon each other. So the culpable exaggerations of Montesquieu, as to the influence of climate on nations—the offspring of a philosophy more or less materialist—were, like every other error, founded on the abuse of truth.

There are five great elements that go to make up that complex thing which we call a nation's history. These are, first, the action of Divine Providence on society, judging, chastising, and rewarding nations and generations according to their deserts; next, the free will of man, co-operating with or resisting the designs of the Almighty; then, the benignant or adverse influence of spirits, good or evil, opposing or aiding and carrying on the Divine Government; then again, the law of growth, maturity, and decay, common to the collective as well as the individual forms of humanity; and, lastly, local and climatic influences, in the comprehensive sense I have used the term. In a most masterly lecture, which must be still fresh in your memories, the first three principles in the historic life of nations have been, by a distinguished colleague* already brought before your observation. My business to-night is with the last-named element, though the fourth shall meet with an incidental notice.

Even in the dawn of history, we see a mysterious analogy between the character of a race and the place of its abode. The first men lived in more intimate relations with Nature; they had

*. Mr. Allies, in his Inaugural Lecture.

a more vivid perception of her powers, properties, and influences; for their senses were more acute and vigorous, and their power of mental intuition keener, than it is easy for us now to conceive. Hence, it is not a little remarkable, that the Semitic race, which even in its heathen members was, comparatively speaking, more tenacious of primitive traditions, should have lingered round the cradle of mankind, and have loved to dwell in those central regions of the earth where man had first heard his Creator's voice. For rarely did that race, as if haunted by the glorious reminiscences of Eden, wander beyond those middle countries of Mesopotamia, Chaldea, Syria, Palestine, and Arabia—regions so near the seat of primeval innocence and bliss! The sons of Cham, on the other hand, labouring under a mysterious malediction, and perhaps pursued by the execration of the other races, hurried at an early period towards the torrid zone—to the southernmost parts of Asia, and to the burning sands of Africa, as places the most congenial to the passionate glow of their own fierce and sensual bosoms. The vigorous, enterprising sons of Japhet — *audax Iapeti genus*—formed for the accomplishment of such high destinies, had been inured, as Görres observes, to the bracing mountain air of Armenia, where, after the departure of the other races, they had long dwelt. Hence they evinced a marked predilection for the Alpine regions of Asia and Europe, stretching their shoots over the isles and peninsula of Scandinavia; the plains of Sarmatia, and the steppes of Scythia, even to the Polar Seas.

But if the first men—under Providential guidance, of course—sought out with such marvellous

instinct the countries most akin to their character and feelings, locality, in its turn, exerted a potent influence on the moral nature, as well as the physical organization of their descendants. Who can doubt that the character and the habits of the Mogul and the Arab have been much modified by the steppes and the deserts of their respective countries? Again, who does not know that the mountaineer and the islander have ever a more energetic spirit of nationality? Further, to give an instance, where locality exercises an influence on the physical organs of a people, a great writer has observed that the accent of the mountaineer is always more guttural, that of the inhabitant of the plain more soft, that of people by the seashore more nasal.

A glance at the map of a country will often enable us to divine its history. Who can look at Europe, with its long line of coast, its deep gulfs, its wide and countless bays, its many peninsulas, and groups of islands clustering near their shores, and where the sea appears to contend with the land for mastery, and not say, that this continent was the destined seat of a high civilization?

Africa, on the other hand, presents the very reverse of this picture. With its vast deserts and burning clime—with bays neither deep nor capacious—possessing, as it does, few wholly navigable rivers, few peninsulas, headlands, and islands in the vicinity of the coast—such a continent (irrespective of that mysterious primal malediction weighing on its inhabitants, and whereof many of its tribes are conscious)—such a continent, I say, is by Nature herself debarred from an active intercourse with the rest of the world, and never could become the abode of highly-civilized nations.

The effect of climate on national character, so much exaggerated by the false philosophers of the last century, was far more potent in Heathen than in Christian countries. Paganism was as little able to resist the voluptuous influences of climate and soil as it was to withstand the allurements of wealth, the arts of sophistry, and the terrors of persecution.

There was a bitter irony in the heathen's doctrine of fate. God had made him free, but, *as far as he could*, he destroyed his own freedom; for, by subjecting himself to Nature, he came in some measure under the law of Nature, which is necessity. So his false theory became, *in relation to himself*, partially true. At all events, we must allow that in the Pagan state a strong character of naturalism was predominant. Even that law of growth, maturity, and decay, which I stated before to preside over the historic life of nations, prevailed among the peoples of heathenism with a rigour and an uniformity that we find not among those of Christendom. The nations faithful to the Church are blessed with such longevity, their childhood is so marvellous, their adolescence so vigorous, their manhood so active and energetic, their age so venerable, and, thanks to Christianity, they possess such a power of resuscitation; they often spring up, like the phoenix, from their own ashes, and the Church lends them, as it were, a portion of her immortality.

GEOGRAPHY CONSIDERED WITH RESPECT TO BARBARIAN AND SAVAGE LIFE.

I pass now to the second point—the picture of barbarian and savage life;—a matter which

the geographer treats more in detail than the historian.

Although, as I before said, civilization is the proper theme for historical philosophy, and the description of barbarian and savage life lies more within the province of geography, still these three forms of social existence cannot be separated by any line of rigid demarcation. How often have not barbarous nations come into collision with civilized, or entered into relations of amity with them? How often have they not been mutually affected by the good or the adverse fortunes of either? How strangely, too, at times, is their destiny interwoven! And how can the historian sever, in contemplation, what in matter of fact is so closely conjoined? Yet, though barbarian and savage nations cannot elude the observation of the historian, an inquiry into their manners, habits, laws, and institutions, is the special task of the geographer. And how vastly important is such a task, a little reflection will show. What fearful havoc hath not barbarism often inflicted on the civilized world! How has its aspect been changed by the inroads of barbarians! What other but barbarians were those hordes which, at various periods of history, and under the successive names of Scythians, Huns, Tartars, and Turks, have rushed down, like swarms of locusts, from the heights of central Asia, and overspread and darkened almost the whole surface of civilization, "devouring," as the Scripture saith, "every green thing?" What other but barbarians were those sons of the desert who conceived and propagated that great anti-Christian heresy—the most bitter, formidable, obdurate foe of the Church—and whereon, as a great Catholic philosopher has

observed, so many features of the Arab character are impressed? Hence the manners and customs, the laws and institutions of barbarian nations are objects that challenge the gravest attention.

Again, what more interesting study than to observe those still existing usages and habits of infant communities, which recall the *naïve*, touching pictures of Genesis and the Book of Job, of the Iliad and the Odyssey! or to inquire into the mercantile transactions of the rude tribes of Asia and of Africa—to track those routes of commerce, which are still the same as in the time of Herodotus, and to examine those articles of merchandise that were described by the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel! Nor can those Asiatic and African cities which are at the present day what they were long ages ago, at once stations of rest for the caravan, emporiums of trade, and sanctuaries of religion, be considered undeserving of notice.

Further, the study of barbarian tribes serves to throw light on passages in the infancy of nations who subsequently reached a high degree of civilization. Although the primitive condition of mankind, as fresh from the fount of primeval revelation, and favoured with a closer intercourse with celestial spirits, was one in many respects highly civilized; yet how many later nations never knew that state, or have fallen away from it! How many, in consequence, have had to pass through a stage of greater or less barbarism, before they attained the summit of civilized life? Hence we can understand how Niebuhr could illustrate certain parts of the early history and constitution of Rome, by analogies taken from the negro states of Central Africa. And again, we sometimes find in barbarous tribes interesting remains

of an early civilization ;—as Mr. Bowdich discovered among the Ashantees, near the coast of Guinea, vestiges of old Egyptian usages and institutions, from which he draws some luminous historical deductions.

Let us now pass from the barbarian to the savage.

A great English Catholic writer, well known and dear to us all, has recently said—"The savage has no history." True; and therefore he belongs to the geographer more than to the historian. The savage has no history, but he has the remnants of a history. He has the remnants of languages, which (as Humboldt observed, in respect to many of the American dialects) are most copious in their vocabulary, and most refined and philosophic in their grammatical structure, and which, like the buried cities in his wilderness, point to an anterior civilization. He often possesses remains of the early traditionary history of the human race; and, above all, he has a disfigured remnant of the great body of religious truths and practices derived from primeval revelation. It is by this slender stock from the common patrimony of mankind his feeble moral and intellectual nature is upheld.

One of the deepest Christian philosophers of our time, Count De Maistre, has called the savage state the second fall of humanity. And the profound truth of this observation must strike us, when we reflect, that as the fall of man had its origin in rebellion against God, so it was in a defection from society—which is the channel ordained by the Almighty, not only for man's intellectual development, but for his moral improvement also—the savage state had its rise.

And with this defection there was, of course, a corresponding moral and intellectual degradation in these outcast tribes. Hence, so far from regarding, with Rousseau and other sophists of the eighteenth century, the savage as the genuine, legitimate child of Nature, we must look upon him as the bastard, who dishonours his mother,—as the prodigal son, who hath wasted his patrimony,—as the imbecile sovereign, who lets Nature dispute or disown that dominion which God had given him over her. Hence those who at first sight had been dazzled with admiration at traits of courage, generosity, and noble-mindedness—parts of man's original greatness—which the savage still retained, were, on a nearer inspection, shocked by revolting features of character. "The Indian savages are much better than ourselves," said the learned French naturalist, Lamanon; and the next day he was massacred by these good Indians. Whereupon his fellow-voyager, the celebrated and unfortunate La Perouse, observed, "I have less dislike for the savages than for our philosophers, who bespatter them with praise."

M. de Chateaubriand, like many of his early contemporaries, was in his first youth carried away by that morbid enthusiasm for the savage state which the perverse eloquence of Rousseau had inspired. A few years later the revolutionary tempest cast him on the shores of America. In that continent, whose gorgeous vegetation, and vast savannas, and sea-like rivers, and sublime cataracts, and primeval forests were to nurse his young imagination, and brace it for those lofty flights which were afterwards to astonish the world—in that continent, I say, he had ample opportunities for testing the truth of his youthful

speculations. The result of his observations is, to show that we should neither overrate, nor unduly depreciate the character of the savage. He especially points out how, among these outcast children of the human race, we meet with all the forms of social polity to be found among civilized nations. Monarchy, hereditary or elective—aristocracy, oligarchy, royalty—more or less tempered by popular assemblies—sometimes even a regular system of foreign alliances, are severally to be discerned in these savage communities. These institutions, indeed, the writer I speak of seems to regard as the first rude elementary forms of human society; but a deeper philosophy proves them to be the weak remains, or, at best, the gross transcripts of a prior civilization.

But there is yet another and a higher point of view, from which the savage may be considered.

Cicero says that no people, how fierce and uncultivated soever, though it might not know the fitting mode of worshipping the Deity, was yet found without some notion of its being. And the wise Plutarch observes,—“We may find nations without arts, without letters, without gymnasia, without commerce, without written laws; but a people without religion and worship we shall never find.” The remark of these ancient sages was based on a sufficiently large induction; but how small were their knowledge and experience on this matter when compared with ours! They knew nothing of savage life, except as exemplified in some Scythian and African tribes. And impiety might then say, as it did long afterwards allege, that in the same way as some ancient travellers pretended to have found people having tails, and with eyes in their stomachs; so a more extended knowledge

of the globe would make us acquainted with tribes devoid of all religious notions. But how have all these absurd conjectures of irreligion vanished before the light of modern discovery! Now that the whole world is known to us, where is such a *lusus naturæ*—such a monster in the moral world—as a people without religion to be found? The progress of geographical science has revealed to us, in all its fearful reality and hideous magnitude, the portent of savage life. Yet everywhere, even among the most degraded members of the human family, have the great doctrines of primitive Revelation—the belief in a Supreme Being—in the existence of intermediate spirits—in the immortality of the soul—in a state of future retribution—in the efficacy of prayer and of sacrifice, been found to prevail. Frequently, even, we discern the tradition of man's primal innocence and subsequent fall—of the Garden of Eden, and of the Deluge. Nay, more; it is a most remarkable fact that even the great dogma of the Trinity, which is found more or less disfigured, more or less clearly expressed in the mythology, religious rites, and philosophic writings of the primitive nations of Asia, like the Chinese, the Hindoos, and others, but less prominently so in those of Greece and Rome, should in the mythology of the Tahitans be enounced with a fullness and a distinctness to be paralleled, perhaps, by no Greek pagan writer except the great Plato.

Thus I may venture here to repeat what I said on another occasion—the evidences of natural religion have not only *been increased in intensive force* by the vast confirmation and development they have received in the Blessed Covenant of the Redemption, but by the progress of geographical

and anthropological science consequent on the discovery of the New World, the discovery of Australia and Polynesia, and the circumnavigation of the globe, *they have grown in extensive power* also. So, in a theological, as well as a psychological and ethnographical point of view, the savage is an object worthy of the deepest study. But, for the reasons before alleged, his portrait is to be found less in the pages of the historian than in those of the geographer.

GEOGRAPHY CONSIDERED WITH RESPECT TO ARCHÆOLOGY.

Thirdly.—I come now to archæology.

Archæology is to ancient geography what statistics are to modern; yet, as in modern geography we must not give the minute details of statistics, so in ancient the same fault is to be avoided in respect to archæology. We must select those points only which are of general utility and permanent interest, which illustrate important events in profane and sacred history (though, as regards the latter, every event may, in a certain sense, be considered important), or which throw light on countries and cities, as well as on the manners, customs, and institutions of their inhabitants, as celebrated in the Bible, and in the writings of profane antiquity. The general reader and the man of the world are not to be referred to professional works, or to books difficult of access, like Introductions to the Bible, elaborate treatises on Greek and Roman antiquities, collections of ancient coins, medals, and inscriptions, or a voluminous series of travels, or the Transactions of academic societies. But in a popular book, like

a Treatise of Geography, such persons have a right to look for information on topics of an universal and abiding interest, important, not to the antiquarian only, but to every Christian and scholar. It is needless to dwell on the importance of such studies. Sacred geography, aided by archæology, serves to illustrate localities described in the Bible, as well as the usages and manners of their inhabitants; to reveal the force and beauty of Scriptural descriptions, allusions, and similitudes; to set forth more vividly the fulfilment of prophecy, and in many ways demonstrate the truth of Holy Writ. Classical geography, in the same way, becomes the useful handmaid of ancient poetry and history, lends a new charm to the pictures of the former, imparts more reality to the narratives of the latter, and stamps more deeply on our memory the deeds of heroism and the monuments of genius. Who, in contemplating the ruins of Babylon and Ninive, will not be impressed with greater awe by the sublime prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel? And who, in studying the topography of the Troad, will not read with a keener relish the descriptions of the Iliad?

It may be objected that I have no right to drag into this discussion a foreign science; that archæology is quite distinct from geography, and that I must not thrust my sickle into another man's field. But here we must bear in mind what I stated at the commencement of this lecture, namely, that geography is essentially a *mixed* science; and here I am alleging a point where it serves to illustrate history. I stated also, that it was the province of geography to furnish the general results of divers sciences, and to make them popular; and this service is more especially

needed in the case of archæology, which is essentially a recondite study.

Moreover, where lies the proper sphere of geography but in the description of the physical, moral, and intellectual condition of different countries? And how, in respect to ancient geography, can this end be accomplished, except by the aid of archæology? But if at all times this study entered into the province of ancient geography, this is more particularly the case in the present age.

This age has been called the era of *archæological discoveries*, as the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries were the epoch of *geographical discovery*. And here observe the admirable conduct of Divine Providence in the march of human science! Scarcely had those enterprising navigators Cook and Bougainville, and their companions and immediate successors, by finding out, or at least better ascertaining, the vast continent and archipelago of the South Sea, completed our knowledge of the earth's configuration, when new mines of archæological learning were opened to the inquisitive intellect of Europe. Sir William Jones, one of the greatest scholars England ever produced, had the honour of unsealing to our curious gaze the intellectual treasures of India. The Asiatic Society of Calcutta, which he founded, has thrown the greatest light on the religious and civil institutions, the manners, customs, history, and geography of Hindostan, and brought to light a literature which (as far as poetry and metaphysics are concerned) nearly vies with that of ancient Greece.

Anquetil Du Perron, that hero of learning, as he has been called, made, at the same time, a

voyage to Bombay, for the express purpose of collecting and translating the Zendavesta, or Sacred Books of the ancient Persians, extant among their descendants, the modern Parsees. The religion and literature of China had long been investigated with critical learning by the Jesuit missionaries, when in our age a new life has been infused into those studies by those great Orientalists, Abel Remusat and Klaproth.

At the commencement of the present century, Napoleon, escorted, like another Alexander, by a group of distinguished scholars, artists, and naturalists, invaded Egypt; and while, by his arms he sought to bring it under the dominion of France, he caused the learned to explore the natural products of its soil, and study the monuments of its antiquity. After many attempts to decipher its mysterious tongue, Young and Champollion discovered the clue to the understanding of the hieroglyphics. Small as is the progress yet made in this work of discovery, still, interesting disclosures on the primitive history of Egypt, as well as striking confirmations to the truth of Holy Writ, have been elicited from these researches.*

Finally, the earliest of earthly monarchies—Assyria—has been the last to reveal the secrets of its history to the questionings of science. With what brilliant success, and with what important results to sacred and profane history, Botta, Layard, and Rawlinson have prosecuted their inquiries on this subject, is too well known to require any comment. Suffice it to say, we may

* Since this lecture was delivered, great progress has been made in the study of hieroglyphic literature.

soon expect an Assyrian counterpart to the Hebrew Books of Kings and Chronicles, and even, perhaps, of Judges!

Thus, to sum up the results of these investigations, the patriarchal land of Fohi* hath been forced to come out of her long seclusion, and witness to the truths of primitive revelation, and the great facts of primeval history. India, amid her wild dreams and gigantic fantasies, hath uttered oracles worthy of note; while in her singular institutions she sets before our eyes a sort of petrification of the primitive world. Iran,† in her long struggle with Turan,‡ or the region of darkness, hath proved herself, in her traditions, the purest of heathen states. Then the land of Misraim,§ Israel's old hereditary foe—she who had so long made the nations drink of her cup of enchantment—she who had perverted the noblest gifts of knowledge, and spread around her the meshes of idolatry,—that great night-walker of history, as she has been called by an illustrious German, who had so long dealt with the occult powers in sciences forbidden,—she, too, hath been made by Providence to shake off the sepulchral dust of ages, to open her lips, after more than two thousand years' silence, in order to depose to the truth of the divine oracles, and tell the secrets of her mystic lore. Lastly, Asshur|| and Babel have been roused from the long sleep which they had slept. They, who had led the way in rebellion against God, and who, after the Flood, had been the first to bring confusion upon the earth—they have been evoked from the tomb, to confirm and

* China.

† Persia.

‡ Tartary.

§ Egypt.

|| Assyria and Babylonia.

illustrate, by their responses, the truth of prophecy, and justify the God of that people whom they had hated and oppressed !

What mighty disclosures have been thus reserved for these our times ! What a noble field is here thrown open to historical geography ! And if even we overlook all the other striking manifestations of Providential agency, these discoveries would surely serve to render our age one of the most memorable in the history of the Church and of the human mind.

LECTURE II.

THE GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF PHœNICIA.*

THE subject of this evening's lecture is "The Geography and History of Phœnicia." I shall first speak of the physical geography of Phœnicia; then give a brief account of its several states. I shall afterwards proceed to inquire into its language, its religious and political institutions, and its arts and sciences. Its manufactures, its land and maritime commerce, and its colonies, will subsequently pass under consideration. I shall conclude with some general remarks upon its people.

GEOGRAPHY OF PHœNICIA.

That narrow tract of seacoast along the Mediterranean and to the south-west of Syria, which,

* In composing this and the following lecture on the colonies of Phœnicia, the writer has consulted, among the ancients, chiefly Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and Stephanus Byzantinus; and among the moderns, Dr. Allioli's *Biblical Antiquities* (in German), Heeren's *Manual of Ancient History*, the same author's work on the *Polity and Commerce of Ancient Nations* (in German), W. Pütz's *Geography and History* (in German), Höfler's *Universal History* (in German), Cesare Cantu's *Histoire Universelle* (translated from the Italian), the *Cosmos* of A. von Humboldt, and the *Dictionnaire Geographique* of M. Bouillet (Brussels edition).

from its local position, was denominated by its native inhabitants Canaan—that is, low land—was called in the later books of the Bible, as well as by the Greeks and Romans, Phœnicia (Φοινίκη). This appellation it derived from the abundance of palm trees which there grew.

On the north and the east it was bounded by Syria, on the south by Palestine, and on the west it stretched along the Mediterranean to the length of about one hundred and twenty-five English miles. This fruitful maritime district, which in ancient times was adorned with large and beautiful cities, was watered by many streams, issuing out of Lebanon—namely, the Eleutherus, the Adonis, the Lycus, the Leontes, the Belus, and others.

The Lebanon, which encloses Phœnicia, sometimes advances abruptly towards the Mediterranean, sometimes recedes, and consists of two chains, running from north to south, called, the Libanus and Anti-Libanus, which formed between them the fertile valley termed by the Greeks Cœle Syria, or Hollow Syria. The Lebanon, in its highest parts, reaches near twelve thousand feet above the level of the sea, and gives birth to many streams, that scatter on the hills and in the valleys around the richest vegetation. The country abounds in cypresses, pines, palm-trees, and oaks.

The cedars of Lebanon are celebrated, not only in the Bible, but in the works of profane antiquity. The vine, without much expenditure of labour, attains to a luxuriant growth; the honey, by reason of the fragrant meadows and pastures, possesses as much excellence as the vine. Indeed, for the breeding of cattle, for the chase, for gardening, and for tillage, the mountain land

of Lebanon was most richly provided. Hence was it coveted by so many nations, and, among other reasons, selected by Divine Providence for the promised land.

The most ancient inhabitants of Phœnicia were descendants of Cham by Canaan, and were divided into several tribes.—(Gen. x. 15, *et seq.*) The Sidonians, the Arkites, the Senites, the Arvadites, and the Zemerites, had settled in the district along the Mediterranean coast, and had distinguished themselves by their skill in the arts and sciences, in commerce and navigation. By the Greeks, these tribes were called Phœnicians (*Φοίνικες*), but among the Israelites they bore the name of Canaanites. The grossest idolatry had long prevailed along this sea-coast, and not seldom were the neighbouring Israelites seduced into that crime by the Phœnicians—a seduction wherein the Sidonian Queen Jezabel was very instrumental.—(3 Kings, xi. 5 ; xvi. 31.) During the period of the schism of the ten tribes, the idols of Phœnicia, Philistine, and Syria found their way not only into the kingdom of Israel, but into that of Judah.—(See 3rd and 4th Books of Kings.)

Originally, the more important cities of Phœnicia possessed monarchical constitutions, and there were as many independent states as there were cities ; but at a subsequent period Tyre arrogated the supremacy over the other states, and this supremacy, then, passed on in succession to the great empires of Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia. In the Books of Maccabees (2 Maccab. iii. 5, 6 ; viii. 8) Phœnicia is cited as a province of the empire of the Seleucidæ ; and in the Acts of the Apostles we find it mentioned, together with

Cyprus and Samaria, as under the Roman dominion (xi. 19; xv. 3; xxi. 2). Phœnicia, in the time of Our Lord, as forming part of Syria, was called Syro-Phœnicia (Συροφονίκη), in order to distinguish it from Syria proper. The woman whose daughter, as we read in the Gospel, was plagued by an evil spirit, and who invoked the almighty aid of Our Saviour, is called by Saint Mark (xii. 26) a Syro-Phœnician, and by Saint Matthew, for the reason above alleged, a Canaanite. St. Paul and St. Barnabas, on their journey through Phœnicia, converted many heathens to Christianity.—(Acts of the Apostles, xv. 3.)

CITY OF SIDON.

Sidon (Zidon), the most ancient of all the cities situated on the Mediterranean, was founded by Sidon, the first-born of Canaan. It lay, according to Strabo (lib. xvi. p. 756), 200 stadia from Tyre, and 400 from Berytus. Even in the time of Joshua, Sidon was very populous; for it is said the Lord gave the Canaanites into the hands of Israel, and they beat them, and pursued them, even to the great city of Sidon.—(Jos. xi. 8.) Sidon, in its flourishing period, had its own kings as well as its own coins (Jer. xxv. 22; xxxvii. 3; Echkhel, Doctrina Num. Vet. vol. i. 111, p. 405 *et seq.*), and, as a commercial city, attained to great celebrity.—(Is. xxiii. 2.) Even Homer depicts the Sidonians as a mercantile people, devoted to art, and skilled in navigation:—

“Then she descended,” he says,
 “Into the sweet perfumed chamber,
 Where the beautiful garments she kept,
 So rich in design, work of virgins Sidonian,
 That the divine chief, Alexander,
 Out of Sidon had brought.”—(Iliad, vii. 228.)

And again,—

“Other prizes for racers did Peleus’ bold son now set forth.

A silver pitcher there was,
Work of art most refined. Six measures it held,
And in beauty surpassed all that earth
Could show, for the skilful artists of Sidon
Did fashion the vase. But men of Phœnicia,
O’er the dark waters bringing it,
In the haven exposed it for sale,
And gave it at last to King Thoas.”

(Iliad, xxiii. 740.)

Workmen from Sidon were employed in the construction of the temples of Solomon and Zerubbabel. The Sidonians were previously in hostile collision with the Israelites; but this state of hostility did not last for any length of time.—(Judges, x. 12.) The judgment of the Almighty impended over the idolatrous city, for it was announced by the mouth of the prophet Ezekiel, “So saith the Lord God: Behold, I am against thee, O Zidon; and I will be glorified in the midst of thee; and they shall know that I *am* the Lord, when I shall have executed judgments in her, and shall be sanctified in her [that is, shall be found as a holy and just judge]. For I will send into her pestilence, and blood into her streets; and the wounded shall be judged in the midst of her by the sword upon her on every side, and they shall know that I am the Lord.”—(Ezekiel, xxviii. 22.)

Sidon, which Artaxerxes Ochus destroyed in the year 350 before Christ, was soon afterwards rebuilt.—(Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. c. 42.)

The city is now called *Saida*, and numbers nearly four thousand inhabitants; within its walls, as well as in the circumjacent country, we

meet with ruins and mutilated columns, which avouch its former greatness and splendour,

CITIES FOUNDED BY SIDONIAN COLONISTS.

1. Colonists from Sidon, the mother of several maritime Phœnician cities, founded the city of Arka, called by the Greeks Ἀρκη, situate at the north-west foot of Lebanon, and about two leagues distant from the Mediterranean Sea. It received its name from the Aracites (Arkun), a Canaanitish tribe.—(St. Jerome, Quæst. in Gen. x. 5.) Remains of the ancient city have been found by several travellers, and Burckhardt, in particular, passed by, in the year 1812, a hill called Tel-Arka, on whose sides lay many ruined walls and fragments of granite columns.—(Travels in Syria and Palestine, pp. 271, 520.)

2. The city of Arvad (Aradus), situate on an island of the same name, at the mouth of the river Eleutherus, was built by the Aradites (Arvadein), the descendants of Canaan. They were accounted skilful mariners in the service of the Syrians.—(Ezekiel, xxvii. 8, 11.) At a later period the Aradites were in alliance with the Romans.—(1 Maccabees, xv. 23.)

Now the island is called Ruad, or Rowada, and is in a state of great desolation.

“Portions of the old double Phœnician wall,” says Dr. Smith, in his “Dictionary of Ancient Geography,” “are still found on the north-east and south-east of the island; and the rock is perforated by the cisterns, of which Strabo speaks.”* The same author minutely describes the contri-

* Art. Aradus.

vance by which the inhabitants drew their water from a submarine source.

Though the tradition has been lost, the boatmen of Raud still draw fresh water from the spring Ibrahim in the sea, a few rods from the shore of the opposite coast. The traveller Mr. Walpole found two of these springs.

A few Greek inscriptions, taken from columns of black basalt, are given by the Rev. Mr. Thomson in his "Bibliotheca Sacra."

TYRE.

Among the cities of Phœnicia, of more recent origin, we must place Tyre, called by the Hebrews Zor, which rose in strength and beauty on a rocky eminence of the Mediterranean.—(Jos. xix. 29; Osee, ix. 13.) The city soon attained to great power, so as to surpass its parent, Zidon. It had its own kings, and amongst these, Hiram was in relations of amity with David and Solomon. When David built himself a palace, Hiram sent him builders and wood of cedar; as was also the case under Solomon, who raised a magnificent temple to the Lord.—(2 Kings, v. 11; 3 Kings, ix. 10, *et seq.*)

The Tyrians, at an early period, displayed the greatest commercial activity, founded everywhere colonies, and thereby acquired immense riches, as may be clearly seen in the 27th chapter of Ezekiel. In the sequel the inhabitants of Tyre built on the neighbouring island, and called the city likewise Tyre. Historians have since distinguished between the old and the new Tyre.—(Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. c. 40; Plin. lib. v. c. 17.)

The prophets of Jehovah announced to the rich

and voluptuous mistress of the ocean the desolation impending over her. "Therefore, thus saith the Lord God, Behold I am against thee, O Tyrus, and will cause many nations to come up against thee, as the sea causeth his waves to come up. And they shall destroy the walls of Tyrus, and break down her towers: I will also scrape the dust from her, and make her like the top of a rock. It shall be a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea, for I have spoken it, saith the Lord God, and it shall become a spoil to the nations."—(Ezekiel, xxvi. 3, 5; Cf. xxvii. 1 *et seq.*; Is. xxiii. 1.)

This desolation was inflicted by Nebuchadnezzar, and afterwards by Alexander the Great, who brought up a dike against the insular city, and destroyed it. After Alexander's death, Tyre, which flourished anew, passed under the dominion of the Seleucidæ, and on the overthrow of the latter, fell under the Roman sway.

Ezekiel's prophecy against Tyre has been literally fulfilled; for the modern traveller can now witness the fisher's net outspread upon the naked rock, whereon she once stood.

The present name of Tyre is *Sur*, which nearly resembles the old Hebrew one of *Zor*. It now is more like a village than a city; and the island is now nearly covered over with the sands of the sea. Its present inhabitants live chiefly by fishing.

OTHER PHŒNICIAN CITIES.

1. Some leagues below the mouth of the Eleutherus, and not far from the foot of Lebanon, between Botrys and Orthosia, lay Tripolis, built by the inhabitants of Sidon, Tyre,

and Aradus.—(Ptolem. lib. v. c. xiii.; Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. c. 41.) The city originally consisted of three parts, whereof each was surrounded with a separate wall. Thence the name Tripolis, or the triple city. The spacious harbour was favourable to an extensive commerce. Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, conquered the city.—(2 Maccabees, xiv. 1, *et seq.*)

2. The city of Gebal, called by the Greeks Byblos, was situate on a hill near the Mediterranean.—(Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 755.) As far as Gebal, the Israelites were to extend their conquests.—(Joshua, xiii. 5.) At Solomon's Temple, Giblites, that is, Gebalites, also worked, as they brought wood and stone.—(3 Kings, v. 18.) By the Tyrians they were esteemed as experienced mariners. The Prophet Ezekiel saith, "The ancients of Gebal and the wise men thereof were thy calkers."—(Ezekiel, xxvii. 9.)

HISTORY OF PHŒNICIA.

Having given a geographical account of this country, I now proceed to state its history.

The history of the Phœnicians, like that of all early Gentile nations, is extremely defective. Scattered notices of them only are to be found in the Bible, Josephus, and a few Greek writers. Menander of Ephesus, who lived in Tyre itself, compiled, with a careful attention to chronological order, the annals of that city from the national records. But a few fragments only of his work are extant in the treatise of Josephus against the grammarian Apion. Among the native historians of Phœnicia there subsist but some remains of the work of Sanchoniatho in the Greek translation of Philo of Byblos. These

fragments contain, however, but a cosmogony; and so far from possessing the genuineness and antiquity once attributed to them, they are a mere compilation of intentionally distorted passages from Phœnician, Egyptian, Hebrew, and Greek works.

The Phœnicians present the singular spectacle of a Chamite people speaking a Semitic tongue. "That the Phœnicians," says the great philologist Adelung,* "were really Canaanites, is, among other things, apparent from their coins, in which even the northern or Syrian Phœnicians call themselves Canaanites. Of all Semitic languages, their tongue approximates the nearest to the Hebrew, although the foreign intercourse, produced by extensive commerce, must have needs occasioned many a deviation from that standard of purity."

"The language of the Canaanites of the coast, or Phœnicians," he continues, "was divided into two dialects—the pure Palestinian, on the frontiers of Palestine, and the low Syriac, on the Syrian frontier—a difference which is still perceptible on the yet extant coins."

Then, with respect to the Punic tongue—a dialect more or less corrupt of the old Phœnician—this scholar shows that it was the general denomination applied by the Romans to the language of all Phœnician nations. The essential identity of the Phœnician and the Punic tongues it is impossible to deny, as Carthage was a Phœnician colony, founded twelve hundred and thirty-four years before Christ, and as the language of the

* Mithridates, by Adelung, vol. i. pp. 345-6. Berlin, 1806.

mother-country there prevailed even down to the extinction of the Roman sway. But, as St. Jerome* remarks, this language in his time, from the long lapse of ages and from foreign influences, had undergone much change. A few coins, dating from a period when the language had been already vitiated, a few inscriptions found in the ruins of Citium in Cyprus, and on the isle of Malta, and an epitaph discovered at Athens, as well as the sixteen verses in the *Pœnulus* of Plautus, are all that remain of a language which (unless perhaps some vestiges of it may be found in the tongue of the Berbers) is no longer spoken on the earth.

Let us now consider the religious institutions of Phœnicia.

The learned Catholic clergyman, Dr. Movers,† who has written a most elaborate work on the Phœnicians, declares that, from the active intercourse which this people carried on with Assyria and with Egypt, their theology was a syncretism of the Egyptian and the Assyrian.

In their religion the supreme Triad consisted of Baal, Melkart, or Hercules, and Astarte. Baal is the sovereign god over the world—the lord of heaven; Melkart the god working in the world, and revealing himself therein, regarded as the son of Baal, or of one essence with him; while Astarte appears in two opposite characters, as the goddess of war and the moon in Sidon, and as Aphrodite in Tyre.

The inferior gods were the sun, the moon, and the five planets; then the deities which preside over the elements, over particular times and seasons of the year, over certain periods of life—

* Preface to the Epistle to the Galatians.

† Die Phönizier. 3 vols.

like youth and age—and over certain trades and occupations, as well as the divinities of the lower world.

The most ancient places of worship were those where the Divinity was thought to exert the most powerful influence—such as mountains, groves, meadows, and the vicinity of rivers, lakes, and springs; many whereof bear the names of those deities.

The Phœnician gods were seldom represented in a purely human form. Columns of wood or stone were the idols in primitive times, and at a later period the deities were represented in the shape of animals,—like bulls, lions, dogs, and serpents, or in forms half human, half brutish. It is remarkable that the earliest idols of the Greeks were shapeless trunks, and columns in wood or stone.

The learned Dr. Movers, whom I just cited, in his elaborate work on the Phœnicians, shows that in the sanctuaries of their temples *three* idols were invariably placed. This was a practice common to some other nations of the Pagan world, and is considered symbolic of their belief in a Divine Trinity, whereof heathenism so often presents the broken and confused image.

Their sacrifices were partly peace-offerings, partly expiatory, and consisted mostly of sheep and oxen.

Here again we are reminded of the custom so prevalent among heathen nations, ever to select for the victims of religious sacrifice the animals surrounding man, or ministering more immediately to his use and convenience. "Never, or rarely, at least," says the Count de Maistre, "did they choose for such a purpose strange or savage

beasts; and when they did not immolate man himself, they sacrificed the animals most akin to man.”*

This was again a perversion of the great traditional doctrine of a future Atonement, which glimmers through the night of Paganism, and wherein we discern at once the remembrance of man's original transgression, and the vague, but anxious, feverish foreboding of his future regeneration.

On the great annual festivals, however, as also on all occasions of importance, and especially in public calamities, the Phœnicians had recourse to the immolation of human victims. “The leading festivals of this people,” says M. Putz, “as was the case in all the natural religions of antiquity, were connected with the yearly changes in the great life of nature, and were designed to be the mythic representations of the birth, death, resurrection, and nuptials of their gods. To such feasts thousands flocked from all parts of Asia and Africa (and even Indians, Ethiopians, and Scythians, were in the number); and the festal embassies from the colonies lasted long after Tyre had ceased to be their religious and political centre.”

The worship of this people, indeed, like that of all Chamite nations, was marked by an especial character of lust and cruelty. The maidens, to obtain their marriage dowries, sacrificed their virtue in the temple; and children, immolated by their own parents, were placed in the glowing arms of the idol Moloch. The mysteries of Adonis, especially, were celebrated with peculiar dissolute-

* See his treatise on Sacrifices, at the end of vol. ii. of the *Soirées de St. Pétersbourg*.

ness. This sensual and sanguinary worship was diffused, not only through the Phœnician colonies, but, in a certain degree, throughout all the countries with which this people traded. And as small idols formed one of the articles of their commerce, it is evident that the Phœnicians were very active agents in the propagation of idolatry.

Let us turn now to the political institutions of this people. From the earliest times, as we have seen, the Phœnician cities possessed monarchical constitutions. The kingly power was hereditary; yet was tempered by the authority of a municipal senate. This constitution existed, not only in the Mosaic age, but, with a brief interruption, was perpetuated through the whole period of the national independence of these states, and even in the time of the Persian domination. There were not unfrequently political commotions;—tyrants then appear to have sprung up, and at one period, from the year 572 to 554 before our Lord, the royal dignity was abolished at Tyre, and the office of *Suffetes* or judges established in its room. In these stirring commercial cities it was impossible for a rigid despotism to strike deep root; yet, in the Phœnician states, the constitution never assumed the exclusive oligarchical character, as in their daughter Carthage: an hereditary royalty counterbalanced the power of the patrician magistrates.

Each Phœnician city, with the territory appertaining to it, had its own internal government; but all were bound together by a federal bond. In this confederation Sidon, in the first ages, held the first rank; but when she had been surpassed in opulence and power by Tyre, this supremacy

devolved on the latter city. The kings of the several cities, accompanied by their magistrates, met together at Tripolis, in order to deliberate on the common concerns of the league. It is a just remark of the late Professor Heeren, that it being the custom for colonies at all times, but especially in antiquity, to retain or copy the usages and institutions of the mother-land, the history of Carthage may, in a certain degree, supply the loss of that of Tyre ; and hence the sort of ascendancy exerted by the former over Utica, Leptis, and Adrumetum, may afford us an idea of the sway exercised by the latter over the other cities of the Phœnician confederacy.

Turning now to consider the state of the sciences and arts among this people, I am disposed to concur in the following judicious observations of the late Rev. Mr. Rose :—

“Celebrated as the ancient Phœnicians have been,” says he, “we may yet venture to question the probability of their having acquired very extensive knowledge, or explored to any considerable extent the paths of real science. From their commercial habits, indeed, they were necessarily acquainted with some things that may come under this classification, and possessed skill in arithmetic and astronomy, as applicable to the purpose of navigation ; and, doubtless, from their general intercourse they were enabled to import true learning from foreign countries. Their most ancient philosopher was Mochus, or Moschus, a native of Sidon. Some have ascribed to him the source of the Atomic philosophy, which afterwards acquired so much celebrity in Greece under Leucippus and Epicurus ; but there is sufficient evidence that this opinion is destitute of a solid

foundation. Cadmus was born also at Sidon. He formed the Greek alphabet upon the foundations of the Phœnician. But though this is a well-ascertained fact, the notion that he instituted schools of philosophy at Thebes is destitute of probability."—(*Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, vol. i. p. 555.)

In later ages, however, and under the Greek and Roman rule, Phœnicia was a seat of considerable learning, and both Sidon and Tyre produced their philosophers. Such were Boethus and Diodatus of Sidon, Antipater of Tyre, Maximus, a Platonic philosopher of the second century, belonging to the same city; and Apollonius, of the same place, who gave an account of the writings and disciples of Zeno. Here, partly by the immigration of new settlers, partly by the influence of the Greek dynasty and the Greek literature, the national mind of Phœnicia seems to have undergone a change, and taken a more speculative turn.

But the Græco-Macedonian sway lies beyond the period at which I am considering this people.

With respect to the fine arts, the Phœnician medals are very beautiful, and of such exquisite workmanship as not to be distinguished from the Greek ones but by the inscription. Pausanias cites a Carthaginian artist named Boethus, who had chiselled ivory figures for the Temple of Juno in Elis. Livy makes mention of a silver buckler, weighing one hundred and thirty pounds, on which was engraven the portrait of Asdrubal, the brother of Hannibal. This buckler was afterwards hung up in the Roman Capitol. Strabo and Appian both extol the beauty and the prodigious height of the houses in Tyre and Carthage. The temples

there, too, were adorned and enriched with gold statues.

The manufactures and commerce of this people next claim our consideration.

Industry was one of the chief traits in the Phœnician character. From the earliest period Sidon, as we have seen, was celebrated for its purple dyes, its finely-tissued garments, and its manufacture of glass. The shores of Phœnicia abounded in shell-fish, which gave the richest and most various purple colours. Thus nature furnished her in abundance with the raw material for her fabrics.

In the course of time the Tyrian dyes, composed of vegetable as well as animal matter, reached the highest perfection; and throughout all antiquity, in the Western as well as the Eastern world, the purple garments of Tyre were sought out as objects of the most refined luxury.

The Phœnicians applied these purple dyes to all kinds of garments, whether composed of linen or cotton, or even (as in later times) of silk. But it was on woollen dresses they lavished every variety of colour. From the nomade tribes in their vicinity they were able to procure the finest species of wool, and this they dyed in its unwrought state. Hence they were enabled to furnish woollen vestures, distinguished for their durable quality, their elegant texture, and their various and resplendent dye.

Glass was another manufacture which the Phœnicians had the honour of discovering, and whereof they long retained the exclusive possession. The sand or nitre used in the manufacture of this article was found in the southern parts of the country, at the mouth of the river Belus.

Little use seems to have been made in antiquity of glass, for in the warm climates of the East curtains were preferred; and again, their drinking-cups and goblets were made of silver and other precious metals. In the more sumptuous edifices of Phœnicia, however, the practice seems to have prevailed of inlaying the walls with glass, —a custom which, according to Mr. Morier, still subsists in Persia.

Other products of Phœnician industry were ornaments of dress and finely-wrought utensils. The prophet Ezekiel speaks of the benches of Indian ivory, wrought by the Phœnicians, and Homer of a chain of amber and gold brought by their pilots to Greece. And a still fuller account of such fabrics is furnished by the prophet Isaiah, when he describes the ornaments of the Hebrew women, which were, doubtless, the work of Phœnician skill. "In that day," saith the prophet, "the Lord will make bald the crown of the head of the daughters of Zion, and the Lord will discover their hair. In that day the Lord will take away the ornaments of shoes, and little moons, and chains, and necklaces, and bracelets, and bonnets, and bodkins, and ornaments of the legs, and tablets, and sweet-balls, and earrings, and rings, and jewels hanging on the forehead, and changes of apparel, and short cloaks, and fine linen, and crimping-pins, and looking-glasses, and lawns, and headbands, and fine veils."—(Isaiah, iii. 17—23.)

From such scattered and incidental notices as these (and we possess no other, whether in sacred or profane writers), we may infer the vast extent and amazing variety of the Phœnician manufactures.

INLAND TRADE.

The commerce of these states was on a par with their industry. Their land trade embraced Arabia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Palestine, Syria, Babylonia, Cappadocia, and Armenia. From Egypt they imported cotton and tissues; from Ethiopia, ebony and precious stones; from Arabia, gold, jewels, incense, and cinnamon, which last came from India. By way of Babylon they received the commodities of eastern Asia, and from Palestine they drew corn, oil, raisins, and balm. Cappadocia and the regions of the Caucasus were the primitive seats of the slave-trade; and thence the Phœnicians procured slaves for the various markets of Europe. Armenia furnished its contingent of horses and mules.

I shall now describe the details of this traffic, taking for my chief authority the prophet Ezekiel, who, in his 27th chapter, has depicted with such wonderful accuracy, and in such glowing colours, the commerce and manufactures of Tyre.

I shall speak first of Phœnicia's inland trade.

One of the chief branches of that trade was with southern and eastern Arabia. The caravans for southern Arabia appear to have passed through Petra, the capital of Idumæa, and which lay on the northern skirts of the desert. Here was a great emporium of Arabian wares. The Phœnician caravan then seems to have passed along the eastern shore of the Red Sea, and, after traversing Macoraba, or the modern Mecca, to have reached Arabia Felix. Here the products chiefly sought after by the Phœnician merchants were incense, myrrh, and gold; and these, by

means of the rich merchandise of raw and manufactured goods they imported from other lands, they could easily procure.

With eastern Arabia also did the Phœnicians trade. Here the route of the caravan lay from the country of the Nabathæans direct through Arabia Deserta, to Gerra, on the Persian Gulf. Here their merchants found, besides the productions of Arabia, the rich cotton tissues, the pearls, the diamonds, and the cinnamon imported from India.

The community of language must have been singularly favourable to the commerce thus carried on between the traders of Arabia and Phœnicia.

The prophet Ezekiel, alluding to this trade, singeth of Tyre: "The men of Dedan [that is, the inhabitants of Gerra and the country about]—the men of Dedan were thy merchants; many isles were the merchandise of thy hands; they brought thee for a present horns of ivory and of ebony" (xxvii. 15). And the prophet Isaiah speaketh of the caravans, or "*travelling companies of Dedanim*" (xxi. 13).

Another channel of Phœnicia's southern trade was with Egypt. This was, perhaps, the most ancient direction of commerce; for Herodotus tells us, "that when Phœnicians had migrated from what is called the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, they forthwith applied themselves to distant voyages, and that having exported Egyptian and Assyrian merchandise, they touched at other places."—(Book i. c. 1.)

That the inhabitants of Canaan, and their neighbours, the Madianites and Idumeans, traded with Egypt, is clear from the Mosaic narrative.

The commerce which Phœnicia carried on with

Egypt is thus described by the prophet Ezekiel : " Fine brodered linen from Egypt was woven for thy sail, to be spread on thy mast ; blue and purple from the islands of Elisa [that is, Greece] were made thy covering." The cotton plant was indigenous to Egypt, and the weaving and embroidery of that article (as we may learn from pictorial representations of Egyptian sarcophagi) one of its most flourishing branches of industry.

Corn was another commodity which, in years of great scarcity, Phœnicia imported from Egypt. On the other hand, wine she imported into the latter country, as the vine was a stranger to Egypt.

By the medium of Thebes the Phœnicians were brought into contact with the traders from the interior parts of Africa. Thebes was the central point, whither converged the different routes of commerce. Thither came the caravans from the cities of Nigritia, on the southern skirts of the Great Desert ; or from the shores of the Red Sea, with the products of Arabia. Thence one set of caravans proceeded to the great oasis of Jupiter Ammon, in the Libyan desert, and onward to the Phœnician and Greek cities on the northern coast of Africa. Another set advanced to the cities of Lower Egypt, and after there discharging a portion of their merchandise, crossed the isthmus of Suez, and terminated their course at Tyre.

When the glory of Thebes had passed away, and Memphis had been made the capital of Egypt, the latter became the seat of Phœnician trade. Herodotus informs us there was a sort of Tyrian factory in the city. "Tyrian Phœnicians," says he, "dwell round a temple sacred to Proteus, and

the whole tract is called the Tyrian camp.”—(Herod. lib. ii. c. 112.)

The second branch of the inland trade of Phœnicia was with the East. There the commerce carried on was with Palestine, Syria, Babylonia, and Assyria.

Palestine was truly the granary of Phœnicia. The prophet Ezekiel saith—“Judah and the land of Israel, they were thy merchants with the best corn; they set forth balm, and honey, and oil, and rosin in thy fairs.”—(Ezekiel, xxvii. 17.) This was truly the land which the spies, whom Moses had sent thither, announced as flowing with milk and honey. And though the desolations of near three thousand years, the ravages of foreign invasion, and the convulsions of internal warfare, —though the thunderbolts of Divine vengeance on an apostate people, and, lastly, the blighting despotism of the Ottoman, have stricken the land with barrenness,—yet it has retained much of its intrinsic fertility, and will amply repay the toil of cultivation. Here grew the finest wheat, superior even to that of Egypt; here wine of the most exquisite flavour rewarded the toil of the vine-dresser. Even in our times the grapes attain to such an enormous size, as excited the wonder of M. de Chateaubriand; and the oil, in the opinion of the same distinguished traveller, surpasses the purest oil of Provence. The balm spoken of by the prophet was celebrated among the Greeks and Romans as something unique in its kind.

The great living German naturalist Schubert, who visited, only a few years ago, the Holy Land, declares that among the causes of its desolation must be ranked the destruction of the woods on the hills and mountains, which, by attracting the

rain, gave rise to many rivulets, that spread fertility through the country.

Of the Syrian trade the prophet saith—"The men of Damascus were thy merchants in the multitude of thy works, in the multitude of divers riches, in rich wine, in wool from the desert." The wine of Chalybon (probably the modern Aleppo) was of so exquisite a kind as to be always reserved for the royal table of Persia, provided as it was with the costliest products of every land.

The wool from the desert, mentioned by the prophet, is that from the sheep belonging to the nomade tribes in the Syrian and Arabian deserts. This wool is the finest in the world. The father of history extols the superior qualities of Arabian sheep. What an important element in Phœnician manufactures this wool constituted, we have already had an opportunity of observing.

Now, as to the trade of Phœnicia with Babylon.

The articles of Babylonian manufacture were exquisitely-embroidered tapestries, woollen and linen garments of the most elaborate texture and brilliant colouring, odoriferous waters, stones engraved, and various kinds of ornamental-work. These, of course, were imported by the Phœnician merchants; but many productions of India found their way through the channel of Babylon. From northern India came the finest emeralds, valuable dyes, and those richly-embroidered shawls from the valley of Cashmeer, which, it appears, were in as much requisition among the fair sex of Babylonia and Persia three thousand years ago, as among the ladies of Europe at the present day. Gold, brought by these northern Indians from the desert of Gobi, in the present Mongolia, formed another article of Babylonian commerce, which

found its way into Phœnicia. The other articles of merchandise which passed through Babylon into Phœnicia were cinnamon, nutmeg, ivory, ebony, pearls, and diamonds. The cinnamon came, beyond doubt, from the isle of Taprobane, or the modern Ceylon. The pearls were gathered partly in the Persian Gulf, partly on the south-west coast of India, by Cape Comorin. Diamonds came exclusively from India; but ebony and ivory the Phœnician merchants drew not only from that peninsula, but from Ethiopia also.

These Indian commodities were obtained by them partly through the medium of Babylon, partly direct from India herself.

Heeren has shown it to be probable that to the western and south-western shores of that peninsula sailed pilots, sometimes from Arabia, but more frequently from the Phœnician stations, Tylos and Aradus, islands situate in the Persian Gulf, and now known by the name of the Bahrein Isles. In exchange for the products and manufactures of Phœnicia, Arabia, Babylonia, and other countries, they obtained the rich merchandise of India; brought these cargoes back to the eastern coasts of Arabia, whence, by caravans, they were transported through its sandy deserts to Babylon, or directly to the Phœnician cities. Our great authority on this subject, the prophet Ezekiel, has described the route as well as the articles of this commerce. "The men of Dedan," says he (and it is to be observed that the descendants of this grandson of Cush inhabited the eastern coast of Arabia, opposite the isles of Aradus and Tylos),—"the men of Dedan were thy merchants; many isles were the merchandise of thine hand; they brought thee for a present horns of ivory, and ebony."

The last branch of Phœnician commerce was the northern trade with Cappadocia, Armenia, and the Caucasian regions. "Thubal and Mosoch," says the prophet, "they were thy merchants; they brought to thy people slaves and vessels of brass. From the house of Thogorma they brought horses, and horsemen, and mules to thy market." —(Ezek. xxvii. 13, 14.)

Thubal and Mosoch, the sons of Japhet, were the progenitors of the Caucasian nations, and Mosoch more particularly of the Moschi, who inhabited the mountains between Iberia, Armenia, and Colchis.

From a very early period, even down to recent times, have these regions been the seat of the slave-trade, for they were peopled by a race not surpassed in beauty by any on the earth. The prophet Joel and other holy seers of Israel denounced this abominable traffic in women and children, and foretold the Divine judgment that would overtake those engaged in it:—"And the children of Judah and the children of Jerusalem," saith the prophet, "ye have sold them to the children of the Greeks, that ye might remove them far off from their own country. Behold, I will raise them out of the place wherein ye have sold them, and I will return ye recompense upon your own heads."—(Joel, iii.)

The vessels of brass spoken of by Ezekiel have ever abounded in these countries. Xenophon speaks of the quantity of brass employed for domestic utensils by the neighbouring Carduchi, or modern Koords; and even at the present day this metal forms an important article of trade between the Caucasus and Bagdad.

Thogorma, another son of Japhet, is, according

to an ancient tradition, recorded by Moses of Chorene, the progenitor of the Georgians, the Lesghians, and the Mingrelians. Others think that by Thogorma, Armenia is here understood—a land famous for its breed of horses and mules. In the Nisæan plains of the contiguous Media were bred those noble steeds, celebrated by Herodotus, and called sacred, and which, as Heeren observes, by reason of their stately size, the admirable proportion of their limbs, and the milk-white beauty of their skin, were alone deemed worthy of conducting the chariot of the Persian monarch.

Having dwelt at such length on the manufactures and on the inland trade of the Phœnicians, I must pass rapidly over their maritime commerce and their colonies.

Their commerce by sea was, perhaps, more lucrative than the one by land, and with the former they coupled piracy, and especially the slave-trade. They visited, explored, and partially colonized all the islands of the Archipelago, and more especially Cyprus, Crete, the Sporades, the Cyclades, the isles in the Hellespont, and even Thasos, whence they extracted gold. The foundation of Pronectus and Bithynium, in Asia Minor, is attributed to them. These establishments, together with others, they were compelled to abandon, in proportion as the Greeks waxed in numbers and in strength. In the same way the Etrurians drove them from Italy; but they prospered in Sicily, whither they had carried the worship of Astarte (to whom they dedicated a temple on Mount Eryx), and where, too, they built the cities of Motya, Solus, or Soluntum,* and Panormus, or the modern Palermo.

* In Greek Σολόεις, εντος, (contracted) Σολοῦς, οὔντος.

Leaving for a moment their colonies on the northern coast of Africa, and the south-west coast of Spain, we track them to the British isles, which they explored for the sake of tin, and which received from them, as the best etymologists admit, the name of *Bratanac*, which, in Phœnician, signifies tin. In the same way the Greeks called these island Cassiterides, from the Greek word *κασσίτερος*, which means tin.

From the Baltic they fetched amber, unless, perhaps, southern Russia furnished them the same commodity at less cost and trouble.

To monopolize trade, which was then carried on by barter, they founded such a vast number of colonies, that the spread of this people served to enlarge the boundaries of geographical knowledge. The whole West was overspread with a net of these settlements. Of some I have already spoken.

COMMERCE OF PHŒNICIA.

The northern coast of Africa and the south-west coast of Spain were literally studded with their colonies. In the latter country Carteja, Tartessus,* and Gades (or the modern Cadiz),

* Tartessus (says M. Bouillet), a city of ancient Spain, founded by the Phœnicians, seems to have been situated towards the mouth of the Bætis, or modern Guadalquivir. It was there the gold of the Peninsula was amassed by this people, to be transported into the East. The renown of the wealth of Tartessus was perpetuated among the Greeks and the Romans; but the site of the city they could not even then ascertain. Some of the learned have thought that Tartessus was but the original name of Gades, or even of Carteja, the modern Algesiras.—(Bouillet's Dict. Géog. et Hist. tom. iv. p. 265. Bruxelles, 1854.)

were their chief settlements. In the former they were Utica, Thysdrus, the Great and Little Leptis, and lastly Carthage, which sought to reduce to a state of dependence almost all the maritime countries of the western shores of the Mediterranean. They reached even Madeira and the Canaries, where coins, belonging either to them or the Carthaginians, are said to have been dug up.

In the Persian Gulf they possessed, as we have seen, the islands of Tylos and Aradus, that served as stations for their Indian trade. Even the circumnavigation of Africa, by sailing down the Red Sea, was, according to Herodotus, achieved by this people; and his account is now fully credited by the most learned historians and geographers of the age.

Now, as to the influence which the Phœnicians exerted on other nations, let us hear a very competent authority on this subject.

“The Phœnicians,” says Alexander von Humboldt, “were the most active intermediate agents in the intercourse of nations from the Indian Ocean to the furthest west and north of Europe. Confined, in some respects, in their intellectual culture, less familiar with the fine than with the mechanical arts, they displayed not in their creations the same grandeur as the inhabitants of the Nile’s valley, who were endowed with a finer organization. Yet, by the activity and boldness they evinced in their commercial relations, especially by the numerous colonies they planted (one of which far surpassed the mother-country in power), they contributed more than all the races which peopled the coasts of the Mediterranean to the promotion of the circulation of

ideas, and to a more various and extended knowledge of the physical world. The Phœnicians made use of the measures and weights employed in Babylon.*

“Moreover, they were acquainted with the use of coins for the purpose of facilitating commercial transactions—a thing, strange to say, unknown to the Egyptians, whose artistic education was so perfect. But what, perhaps, most contributed to extend the influence of the Phœnicians upon the civilization of those nations with whom they came in contact, was the care which they took everywhere to communicate and diffuse alphabetic writing, which they had long made use of. If the legend of a colony brought into Bœotia by Cadmus still remains involved in the clouds of fable, it is not less certain that the Greeks are indebted for their knowledge of the alphabet, long called by them ‘Phœnician characters,’ to the commercial relations between the Phœnicians and the Ionians.”†

* * * *

“It was not only,” continues Humboldt, “by their intermediate agency, and by the impulse they communicated, the Phœnicians furnished new materials for physical observation, but they also by their own discoveries enlarged the circle of science. Their individual prosperity, founded, as it was, on the development of their navy, and on the activity of the Sidonians in manufacturing works of white or coloured glass, weaving stuffs,

* See Böckh on ancient coins, weights, and measures (in German), pp. 12 et 237. 1855.

† *Vide* Otfried Müller's *Minyans*, p. 115, and his *Dorians*, vol. i. p. 129.

and dyeing them in purple, led the Phœnicians, as always happens, to discoveries in the mathematical and chemical sciences, and to the arts of application. The Sidonians, says Strabo,* are represented as laborious investigators in astronomy, as well as in the science of numbers. They were prepared for those sciences by their keeping of accounts, as well as by their nightly navigations; for both sciences are necessary to commerce and to navigation.”† So far, Alexander von Humboldt.

To conclude, if we compare the Phœnicians with the other nations of primitive antiquity, we shall find that they had not the profound scientific genius of the Egyptians, nor the spirit of military adventure that distinguished the Persians, nor the high poetic and philosophic endowments of the Hindoos, nor the earnest moral sense of the Chinese. Not in religion only, but in manners, customs, modes of life, and occupations also, they formed the most striking contrast to their neighbours—the Hebrews. On the one hand, the Phœnicians were an essentially trading and manufacturing people, devoted to traffic by sea and land, digging into the bowels of the earth in quest of gold, traversing distant seas and exploring remote shores, founding colonies, and bringing nations under their sway. On the other hand, the Hebrews were a still, agricultural, and, if I may so speak, a sacerdotal people, rarely engaged in commerce, undertaking mostly but defensive wars, and cultivating their corn, their wine, their oil, and their healing balm—so symbolic of their

* Strabo, xvi. p. 757.

† *Cosmos*, by A. von Humboldt, tom. ii. pp. 151-3 (French translation).

religious doctrines. The Phœnicians, though no strangers to higher art,—as, indeed, the many proud monuments of their cities proved, as well as their co-operation in the building of Solomon's Temple,—were yet chiefly devoted to those mechanical arts and contrivances which minister to the convenience and the luxury of man. Commerce, navigation, mining, and manufactures, engrossed their attention. They were an essentially practical people. They were the Dutchmen of the primitive world.

LECTURE III.

THE COLONIES OF PHOENICIA, AND ESPECIALLY CARTHAGE.

THE subject of this afternoon's lecture turns on the colonies of Phœnicia, and more especially Carthage. In a lecture delivered last term, I described the different cities of the Phœnician confederation, then spoke of the language, religious and political institutions, manufactures, and inland trade of those states. Having then touched but lightly on their maritime commerce and their colonies, I will endeavour on the present occasion to supply this deficiency. After concluding this portion of my subject, I will proceed to inquire into the territorial extent, the religion, the government, the intellectual condition, the trade, and the causes of the decline and fall of the most important Phœnician republic—Carthage.

The Phœnicians occupied in very early times most of the islands of the Archipelago; but out of these they were driven by the Greeks. Their chief colonies were partly in southern Spain, including the cities of Tartessus, Gades, Carteja; partly on the northern coast of Africa, west of the Little Syrtis, such as Utica, Carthage, Hadrumetum; partly on the north-west coast of

Sicily, such as Panormus, or the modern Palermo, and Lilybæum. It is extremely probable that they had settlements in the Persian Gulf, on the islands of Tylos and Aradus, or the Bahrein Isles of modern times.

“The survey of the Phœnician colonies,” says Heeren, “serves for a basis of a survey of their maritime commerce and their navigation, which, however, extended further than their colonies. With the Phœnicians, as with other nations, maritime trade sprang out of piracy; as pirates they appear in the pages of Homer.”

The chief countries with which they carried on trade were—first, their colonies in Africa and Spain, especially in the latter land, because of its rich silver-mines; secondly, with the western coast of Africa, beyond the Columns of Hercules; and, thirdly, with Britain and the Scilly Isles, in search of tin; and, probably, with the North, in quest of amber; fourthly, from the northern point of the Arabian Gulf, Elath, and Eziongeber, they sailed in connection with the Hebrews to Ophir—that is, to the rich countries of the South, especially Arabia Felix and Ethiopia; fifthly, from the Persian Gulf they carried on commerce with the western peninsula of India, and with the island of Ceylon; and, lastly, as I stated in my former lecture, they made some great voyages of discovery, among which the circumnavigation of Africa, six hundred years before the Christian era, is not the least remarkable fact. The latter fact, related by Herodotus, and which was so long questioned, has been shown to be extremely probable by writers of such high authority as Major Rennell, Heeren, Sprengel, A. von Humboldt, M. Bouillet, M. Miot; and, lastly, by a philologer

consummately versed in the Coptic language and literature, M. Etienne Quatremère.

"The Phœnicians," says A. von Humboldt, "were the most active agents in the commerce of nations from the Indian Ocean to the farthest west and north of Europe."—(Cosmos, tom. ii.) They concealed, indeed, with the utmost caution the term of their naval expeditions, in order to obviate the rivalry of other nations; and with this view they propagated the strangest fables, which the undiscerning credulity of historians subsequently adopted.

"It is perhaps to them," says an eminent modern Italian historian (Cesare Cantu), "we are to ascribe the terrifying names of Babel-Mandeb, or Port of Affliction, and that of Meté, or Death, given to another port of the Arabian Gulf, which is, perhaps, the same with Cape Gardafui, or the Cape of Funerals." In confirmation of this remark, I may cite a passage from Strabo, relating an anecdote of a captain of a Tyrian vessel, who, on observing that he was watched by Roman ships following in his track, ran his vessel against a shoal, and so led the Romans on to their destruction; while he himself, having escaped shipwreck, received from his own republic an indemnity for the loss of his merchandise and ship.

This statement of Strabo, when we consider the extreme mercantile jealousy and habitual perfidy of this people, is well entitled to credit.

I shall now proceed to describe the various colonies of Phœnicia.

Their most eastern colonies were Tylos and Aradus, or the modern Bahrein Isles, in the centre of the Persian Gulf. The first was sometimes called *Tyros*, which more clearly indicates its

connection with the leading city of the Phœnician confederation.

Of these isles Strabo writes as follows :—

“ In navigating further down the Persian Gulf from Gerrha, we find other islands like Tyrus and Aradus, which have temples similar to those of the Phœnicians ; their inhabitants affirm that the isles and cities, which bear the same name in Phœnicia, were their colonies.”

It is evident that these islands, so conveniently situated for carrying on the trade with India, where, besides, grew excellent timber for ship-building, and where, from the earliest times, down to the present day, the finest pearl-fisheries have existed, could not long elude the mercantile vigilance of this people. Their caravans, as was observed on a former occasion, had long traded with the eastern, no less than with the southern coasts of Arabia, in quest of the precious commodities of that country, as well as of those she imported from India. These islands, according to ancient writers, abounded in excellent timber, were remarkable for their flourishing plantations of cotton, and, above all, for their pearls, that, in the opinion of Mr. Morier, a recent traveller, surpass those of Ceylon in hardness and in brilliancy.

There were many other places in the Persian Gulf bearing a Phœnician name, and which, coupled with certain historical facts, prove them most certainly to have been Phœnician settlements. Such were Sidodoma, on the eastern side of the Persian Gulf ; and a city Szur (or Tur, Tyros), in Oman, on the western side.

The Chaldæans, when banished from Babylon, had, according to Strabo, founded Gerrha, in the

Persian Gulf, and had a part with the Phœnicians in the lucrative trade with India. "The men of Dedan,"—that is, the inhabitants of Gerra,—says the prophet Ezekiel, addressing Tyre—"The men of Dedan were thy merchants; many islands were the traffic of thy hand; they exchanged for thy price teeth of ivory and ebony." (Ezek. xxvii. 15.) Heeren has shown it to be extremely probable that the Indian commodities here mentioned by the prophet—ivory, ebony, together with cinnamon,—were conveyed to Gerra, and to Tylos and Aradus, in the Persian Gulf, not in Indian, but in Phœnician, as well as Arabian vessels.

Now, as to the Phœnician colonies in Asia Minor and Greece, Pronectus, a city near Drepanum, in Bithynia, was, according to a geographer of the fifth century (Stephanus Byzantinus) founded by the Phœnicians. And so was Bithynium, in the same province, afterwards called Claudiopolis.

The commentator on Stephanus Byzantinus well observes, that, for the purposes of trade, the Phœnicians built many cities on different shores of the Mediterranean.

Amathus,* and many other ancient cities of Cyprus, were of Phœnician origin. The same was the case in the islands of Crete and of Rhodes; for their Phœnician worship implies a Phœnician origin.

I observed, on a former occasion, that the growing opulence and power of the Greeks early drove the Phœnicians from the coasts of Asia Minor and the islands of the Archipelago, and that the commercial jealousy of the Etrurians, as

* *Vide* Gronov. in St. Byz. p. 70, N. 48.

well as of the Hellenic colonies in southern Italy, prevented them from founding factories or settlements in that country. But in Sicily it was otherwise. "Before the Greeks," says Thucydides, "had migrated to that island, the Phœnicians had already occupied its coasts, and the small isles adjacent; but when the immigrations of the former had begun to be more frequent, the latter then retired to Motya, Solus, and Panormus, or the modern Palermo."*

The city of Motya, when it was besieged by Dionysius, at the commencement of the fourth century before Christ, is thus described by Diodorus Siculus: "This city," says he, "was situate in an island, at the distance of six stadia from Sicily, and was distinguished for the number and great elegance of its houses, as its inhabitants abounded in wealth."† Though this description strictly applies to the period of the Carthaginian sway, yet much of it can doubtless be referred to that age when it was still under the rule of the Phœnicians.

Solus and Panormus, from their excellent situation and convenient harbours, naturally attracted the attention of these enterprising mariners and merchants; but of the condition of these cities in the time of the Phœnicians or Carthaginians, we have little or no account.

Another colony of the Phœnicians was Malta, which lay southwards of Sicily, and directly on their passage to the south of Spain and the north of Africa. Diodorus Siculus says they found, on their mercantile expeditions to the western ocean,

* Thucyd. lib. vi. c. 2.

† Diod. Sic. lib. xiv. c. xlviii. 2.

a safe refuge in this island, from its central situation and its commodious harbours. He extols the wealth of the inhabitants, the beauty of their mansions, and the variety of their manufactures, especially their linen fabrics, remarkable as they were for the softness and delicacy of their texture. That this people had really settled in this island is proved by the discovery of various coins, and other monuments, with Phœnician inscriptions.

Gaulos, or the modern Gozzo, an isle adjacent to Malta, was another settlement of this enterprising nation.

Sardinia, too, as we are assured by Diodorus, was early colonized by this race. "Having," he says, "become wealthy by the trade with Spain, the Phœnicians sent colonies not a few into Sicily and the neighbouring islands, into Africa and *Sardinia*, and, lastly, into Iberia."*

True to their commercial system, as a modern historian observes, they seem, not like their descendants, the Carthaginians, to have attempted the subjugation of the island, but merely to have established on the coasts some settlements for their commerce and their navigation.

Of the Phœnician settlements in that island, as well as in the Balearic Isles, I shall at present say nothing, but reserve my account of them to the moment when I come to describe the Carthaginian colonies. Let us hasten to southern Spain, which was the term of the expeditions of these adventurous mariners.

The southern coast of Andalusia was the chief seat of the Phœnician factories. Here was the famed city of Tartessus, generally supposed to

* Diod. Sic. lib. v. p. 358.

have been built near the mouth of the river Bætis, or modern Guadalquivir, though some have considered it identical with Hispalis, or the modern Seville, and others with Carteja, or the modern Algesiras. The country around it was called Tartessis; and Strabo and Stephanus Byzantinus both say that there flowed into the sea a river bearing the name of Tartessus, which, as Pausanias expressly asserts, was afterwards called the Bætis, or modern Guadalquivir. The exact site of the city was, however, a mystery even to the later Greeks and Romans.

The name of this region was doubtless derived from Tharsis, the second son of the Japhetite Javan, whose descendants had here settled. The whole Iberian peninsula was known to the Hebrews under the name of Tharshish. Thence the ships of the Tyrians and King Solomon *fetched gold, silver, and ivory*, and to Tharsis, whose inhabitants were in commercial intercourse with Tyre, the kings Josaphat and Ochoziah equipped vessels. (3 Kings, x. 22; xxii. 49; 2 Chron. ix. 10—21; xx. 36; Ezek. xxvii. 12—25.) “Tarsish was thy merchant,” saith the prophet Ezekiel, addressing Tyre—“Tarsish was thy merchant, by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches: with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded in thy fairs.” And again, in the 25th verse of the same chapter, the prophet saith, “The ships of Tarsish did sing of thee in thy market, and thou wast replenished, and made very glorious in the midst of the seas.”—(Ezek. xxvii. 12—25.)

This glowing description of the Hebrew seer, as to the abundance of the precious and the useful metals in the land of Tharsis, or Spain, is confirmed by the voice of all profane antiquity. The

author of the treatise "*De Mirabilibus*," by some attributed to Aristotle, says that such was the abundance of silver in the city of Tartessus, that the Phœnician merchants brought back to their native country ships laden with that precious metal, and that their very anchors were made out of it. Diodorus Siculus declares that rivulets of pure silver flowed through the land; and that as its inhabitants were unacquainted with its use, the Phœnicians easily obtained it in exchange for some trifling merchandise, and thence conveying it to Greece, Asia, and all other countries, acquired very considerable wealth."* He describes the rich gold and silver mines of that country, which, though wrought in his time with great diligence by the Romans, had yet, as he expressly observes, been "opened by the avarice of the Carthaginians." Judging from analogy, however, it is more probable that their enterprising ancestors, the Phœnicians, had first led the way in these mining operations. Our historian further corroborates the statement of the Hebrew prophet, by adding that in many parts of Iberia† tin is found, though not, as some historians represent, on the surface of the earth; but that, like gold and silver, it is dug out of its depths, and then fused.

Strabo, too, confirms this account of Diodorus as to the mineral wealth of Spain. "Of metals, in fact," says he, "the whole country of the Iberians is full, although it is not equally fertile and flourishing throughout, especially in those parts where the metals most abound. It is seldom

* Diod. Sic. lib. v. xxxv. 2 et 3.

† A. von Humboldt declares that during his stay in the Spanish province of Gallicia, he saw tin washed down by the torrents from the mountains.—(Cosmos, tom. ii.)

that any place is blessed with both these advantages, and likewise seldom that the different kinds of metals abound in one small territory. Turdetania, however," or the modern Andalusia (which, be it observed, was the part visited by the Hebrew and the Phœnician vessels),—"Turdetania and the surrounding districts excel so entirely in this respect, that, however you may wish, words cannot convey their superiority. Gold, silver, copper, and iron, equal in amount, and of similar quality, not having been hitherto discovered in any other part of the world. Gold is not only dug from the mines, but likewise collected, sand containing gold being washed down by the rivers and torrents." And with respect to tin, Strabo, quoting the historian Posidonius, says—"Tin is not found upon the surface of the earth, as authors commonly suppose, but it is dug up, and is produced both in places among the barbarians, who dwell beyond the Lusitanians [that is in the modern province of Galicia], and in the Cassiterides [or Scilly Isles], and from the British islands it is carried to Marseilles. Among the Artabri [or modern Gallicians], who are the last of the Lusitanians towards the north and west, he tells us that the earth is powdered with silver, tin, and white gold,—that is, gold mixed with silver, the earth having been brought down by the rivers."*

Such were the mineral riches of the country of Tartessus, wherewith the Phœnicians traded, and where, besides the city of Tartessus, already named, they built many other important places. Of these, one of the most considerable was, doubtless, Gades, or Gadeira, the modern Cadiz, in which, accord-

* Strabo, lib. iii. c. iii. secs. 8 and 9.

ing to Diodorus, besides structures of a suitable grandeur, there was a magnificent temple dedicated to Hercules, wherein the Phœnician rites were solemnized with splendour. This city, situate at the very mouth of the Atlantic Ocean, invited those daring mariners to voyages of discovery. Thence they launched forth on its waters, coasting along the western parts of Spain and France, as far as the Scilly Isles, in search of tin, or, steering a south-westerly course, they explored the shores of Africa, and penetrated even to the Canary Islands. So it was near three thousand years afterwards from Palos, in the vicinity of Cadiz, Columbus and his adventurous crew embarked in search of a new world.

The other Phœnician colonies on the coast of Spain, and situate in the most fertile parts of that peninsula, were Malaca and Hispalis, or the modern Malaga and Seville. "Of the former," Strabo says,* "it is a market for the nomade tribes from the opposite coast, and there are great stores of salt fish there." He adds that it is by some confounded with Malaca; but this is a mistake, "for the latter, which is at a greater distance from Calpe, or the modern Gibraltar, is in ruins, and preserves traces of having been a Grecian city; whereas Malaca is nearer, and Phœnician in its configuration."

The excellent situation of Hispalis, on the Guadalquivir, which admitted ships of considerable size, could not have escaped the attention of the Phœnicians.

To come now to their colonies on the coast of Africa, Utica was decidedly one of the most

* Strabo, lib. iii. c. iv. s. 2.

ancient. It was (says Velleius Paterculus) built about 287 years before Carthage. The foundation of Cadiz was nearly contemporary with it. He adds that the foundation of Utica occurred in the times of Codrus, who flourished about eleven hundred years before the Christian era.

Utica (says Strabo, speaking of this city in his time)—Utica is inferior only to Carthage in greatness and dignity; and on the destruction of the latter, "it became the capital of the province, and the resort of the Romans for the conduct of their affairs in Africa. The two cities were so situate that you might see one from the other."*

The other Phœnician cities on the African coast were Hadrumetum, Thysdrus, and the Great and the Little Leptis, which in the Phœnician, as well as Carthaginian period, formed independent states, each with its own separate territory. United with Carthage in the bonds of a common confederation, they ever evinced the greatest jealousy of her power.

The Phœnicians are said to have founded three hundred cities on the western coast of Africa alone, but which were utterly destroyed by its savage tribes.

These remarks on the commercial and colonial policy of the Phœnicians I shall conclude with a citation from the "Cosmos" of Alexander von Humboldt, and which assigns to the Phœnicians a high place in the history of civilization.

"To calculate," says he, "the extent of country which was opened for the first time by the vessels and the caravans of the Phœnicians, we need but point to the colonies established near the Euxine,

* Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 832, ed. Cas.

on the coasts of Bithynia, such as Pronectus and Bithynium, that probably date from a remote antiquity ; the Cyclades and many isles of the *Ægean* acknowledged as such in the time of Homer ; the southern part of Spain, rich in silver-mines, like Gades and Tartessus ; the north of Africa, to the west of the Little Syrtis, containing Hadrumetum, Utica, and Carthage ; the northern countries of Europe, producing tin and amber ; lastly, two factories established in the Persian Gulf, like Tylos and Aradus, at present the Bahrein Isles.

“The trade in amber, which probably first took the direction towards the Cimbric Chersonesus, and later towards the shores of the Baltic, inhabited by the Estians, owed its first rise to the enterprise and perseverance of the Phœnician navigators, who sailed along those coasts. The expansion which this commerce took is worthy of remark, and shows what the taste for a single distant production may effect for establishing between nations frequent communications, and for bringing about the knowledge of vast countries. In the same way as the Phocæans of Marseilles conveyed the tin of Britain across Gaul down to the Rhone ; so the yellow amber (*electrum*) passed from people to people, across Germany and the country of the Celts, to either side of the Alps, to the banks of the Po, or to the Borysthenes across Pannonia. It was this commerce which for the first time placed the coasts of the North Sea in relation with the Euxine and with the Adriatic.

“Starting from Carthage, and probably also from Tartessus and Gades, founded two centuries before, the Phœnicians explored a great part of the north-western coasts of Africa, and advanced

much beyond Cape Bojador, though the river Chretes of Hanno could not be either the Chremates mentioned by Aristotle in his *Meteorology*, nor the modern Gambia. It is there that were situate the numerous cities of the Syrians, whereof Strabo estimates the number at three hundred, and which were destroyed by the Pharusians and the Nigritians.

“Among these was Cerné, which formed the chief station for vessels, and the best-provisioned mart on the whole coast. On the west the Canary Isles and the Açores, which the son of Columbus, Don Fernando, took for the Cassiterides, discovered by the Carthaginians; on the north the Orcades, the Feroe Isles, and Iceland, became, as it were, the intermediate stations for vessels proceeding to the New Continent. They mark the two routes whereby the European race put itself in communication with the tribes peopling the north and the centre of America. This consideration lends a high interest to the question how far the Phœnicians of the mother country, or those of the colonies scattered on the coasts of Iberia and Africa,—such as Gades, Cerné, and Carthage,—were acquainted with Porto Santo, Madeira, and the Canaries, and at what period that acquaintance commenced. We may even say that this question is pregnant with importance to the history of the world. In a long chain of events, we like to rise to the first ring. Two thousand years, at least, had probably elapsed from the foundation of Tartessus and Utica by the Phœnicians to the discovery of America by the North Passage,—that is to say, to the voyage of Erich Randa to Greenland,* which was soon

* In the year 982.

followed by voyages extending even to North Carolina. And we must reckon two thousand five hundred years from the first period to the expedition of Columbus, who proceeded to America by the south-west, in starting from a point contiguous to the ancient Phœnician city of Gades.”
—(Cosmos, vol. ii. pp. 151—156, French edition.)

So far A. von Humboldt.

I now pass to the most important Phœnician colony—Carthage.

SITUATION AND POSSESSIONS OF CARTHAGE.

Carthage stood within the recess of a large bay (the Sinus Carthaginiensis), inclosed by the headlands of Apollo and Mercury (now Cape Farina and Cape Bon), in the middle and northernmost part of the north coast of Africa, about 36 degrees latitude north, and about 10 degrees longitude east. Advantageously situated on the shores of the Mediterranean, its walls were washed by that sea on the north, east, and west. To the south its possessions extended as far as the Great Desert. This city was called by the Greeks *Καρχηδων* instead of *Καρθηδων*, for the Sicilian Greeks pronounced the *theta* like *chi*.

“The foundation of Carthage (says Niebuhr) was by no means the first of the Punic settlements in those parts. Utica was more ancient, and the names Utica and Carthage stood in the same relation as Palaiopolis and Neapolis—for Athica and Carcheda mean nothing else but Old-town and New-town; and Utica must at first have had another name. These places were Phœnician factories, from the period of the greatness of the

Phœnician state ; our doubts hereupon can have arisen only from our own ignorance.”*

The western boundaries of Carthage extended, according to Polybius, as far as the Straits of Gibraltar. But within this tract of territory there were many independent Numidian tribes. The southern limit, as we have seen, was formed by the Great Desert. On the east the possessions of the republic stretched as far as the frontiers of Cyrenaica, marked by the altars of the Philænian brothers.

The vulgar tradition that Dido or Elisa fled from Tyre to escape Pygmalion, her brother-in-law, who had murdered her husband, is unhistorical ; because, as has been proved by Dr. Movers, Dido or Elisa is a mythic personage. But this tradition is so far important, as it shows that civil dissensions in Phœnicia forced a part of its citizens to emigrate to the north of Africa. The very circumstances of this emigration rendered Carthage independent of the mother country ; but, like the Greek colonies, it remained united with the parent state by the ties of religion and the bonds of commercial intercourse.

The Phœnicians found on the coast of Africa, where they settled, nomade tribes, whose manners and customs have been so vividly delineated by Herodotus ; such as the Libyans and the Maxyes, the Zaveces and the Gyzantes. Among these the Carthaginians sent colonies for the purpose of subduing and civilizing them. Hence arose a mixed population, called the Liby-Phœnices.

* Lectures on Ancient History, translated by Dr. L. Schmitz, tom. iii. p. 159.

RELIGION OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

To come now to the religion of the Carthaginians—it was substantially the same with that of their ancestors, the Phœnicians, which I described on a former occasion. The same character of lust and hate was impressed on both creeds; the same features of gloomy distrust and fierce suspicion, of voluptuous festivals and sanguinary rites, were common to the worship of the parent state and of its daughter. Yet the Tyrian colonists of Carthage could not, of course, escape the moral influences of the land where they had settled; and accordingly we find in their religion many elements borrowed from the Libyan.

The names of the Phœnician and Carthaginian deities were nearly identical; such as Elim, Alomim, Baalat, Melkart, and Dan. The sun, as the generative power of nature, they worshipped under the name of Baal; and such was their veneration for him that, dreading to pronounce his name, they designated him by the appellation of the Ancient, or the Eternal. His statue, like that of Moloch in Tyre, was of metal, with arms outstretched, and with a cavity in its breast, which, when heated from below, received, as in a glowing furnace, the infant victims of superstition. With this god was associated the female goddess Astarte, or the Queen of Heaven, corresponding to Juno, to the Cyprian Venus, to the Diana, and even to the Minerva of the Greeks. Her worship bore a peculiar character of voluptuousness; and her licentious festivals subsisted even to the fourth century of the Christian era, and drew down the strong animadversions of a Saint Augustine and a

Salvian. Then came the Tyrian Hercules, or Melkart, a name which signifies *King of the City*, the most popular of all the Phœnician deities. In his temples burned a perpetual fire; and yearly, in the spring, the priests kindled in his honour an immense pyre, out of which flew up an eagle, the symbol of the reviving year. He was the tutelary god of all navigators and merchants; and the Carthaginians never failed to send to his temple at Tyre the annual tribute of a tithe of the public revenues.

Esmun was the god of medicine, who passed for working, throughout Africa, extraordinary cures. His temples were the resort, not only of physicians, but of the learned generally, who repaired thither for the purpose of teaching and of investigating. We find here, too, the old Egyptian custom of the temple-sleep, so calculated to foster every species of magical illusion.

The DioscURI were the tutelary gods of navigators; and the horse was an emblem borne on the arms of Carthage. The Carthaginian name of the god, corresponding to the Greek Poseidon, and the Roman Neptune, is unknown; but he played an important part in the mythology of this people, and received in his waters the tribute of many a human victim.

Among the demi-gods was Elisa, or Dido, in whose presence were held the political assemblies; and the Philæni, whose altars marked the limits of the Carthaginian and the Cyrenæan territories. The Philænian brothers, as is well known, on occasion of a contest for territory between the two states, buried themselves alive in the earth, in order to secure the triumph of Carthage. Altars were erected to them on the

spot ; and round these, in course of time, rose up a city, which, however, even in Strabo's age, had ceased to exist. It is remarkable, however, that the learned Italian traveller Della Cella,* who, in the year 1817, explored the regency of Tripoli and the adjoining country, declares that he saw columns of sandstone, with inscriptions, very much defaced, in an unknown tongue, and which, from their position, one is inclined to take for these pillars of the Philænian brothers, as described by Scylax, Strabo, and Polybius.

"The Carthaginians," says a distinguished modern historian of Italy, "believed that the souls of the just ascended unto light eternal ; and they called death the last port, the common haven. They borrowed some things from the religion of the conquered nations. Thus, it is probable that they learned from the Africans to worship fire, earth, air, the winds, and the other elements ; the worship of Ceres and Proserpine they derived from Sicily ; and from Sardinia that of Iolaus, the nephew of Hercules."†

There was not, it is to be observed, among this people a sacerdotal caste, as in India, Egypt, and Persia ; nor do there appear to have been hereditary priesthoods, as in certain families of ancient Greece. But the priestly dignity was held by the chief citizens of the republic, and was encircled with every mark of outward honour. Religion, in fact, as among all the nations of antiquity, was in the closest connection with the state. Yearly were solemn deputations of priests sent by the senate and people of Carthage to honour Melkart in his

* Viaggio da Tripoli, p. 77.

† Cesare Cantu, Hist. Universelle, tom. ii. p. 49.

temple at Tyre. And on occasion of the establishment of every new colony, sanctuaries were founded, like that of Neptune, for example, on the western coast of Africa, and that of Hercules, when Carthage in Spain was built. The commanders of troops were required to offer sacrifice to the gods during battle; and soothsayers, without whose counsel no martial enterprise could be undertaken, ever attended the armies.

I spoke on a former occasion of that especial character of lust and cruelty that marked the worship of the Phœnicians, like that of every other Chamite people.

All Pagan nations, indeed, have practised human sacrifices; and the difference among them relates only to the degree of their frequency, and the length of time they continued. An illustrious German Catholic writer declares that he knows but one exception—the Chinese—in whose history and sacred books he could find no trace of the abominable custom. But even this is hardly an exception; for such, down to two centuries before our era, was the purity of the belief and practice of that people—such the fidelity with which they had clung to patriarchal traditions, that they could scarcely be called Pagan. Yet everywhere else had the terrors of superstition engendered this cruel rite.

THE CONSTITUTION OF CARTHAGE.

Let us now consider the political institutions of Carthage.

The constitution of Carthage has been compared by Aristotle with the Cretan and the Spartan; and on the whole, though he has pointed

out defects therein, it has received his warm commendation.

The government was in the hands of one, and, later, of two kings, and of a senate. The kings, who were called *suffetes*—a term exactly corresponding to the *shophetim*, or judges, of the Hebrews—were magistrates, chosen for life by the people out of the chief and most opulent families.

The senate was composed of representatives of all classes of citizens, and was divided into the smaller and the greater council. The former, called *Γερουσία*, was, it appears, charged with the direction of foreign affairs; the latter, called *Συγκλητος*, was more especially intrusted with the internal administration.

If the kings and the senate entertained contrary opinions on any subject, the decision of the matter was reserved for the judgment of the people in the public assemblies.

The kings were not usually commanders of armies, but were charged solely with the civil government.

The inhabitants of the Carthaginian territory were mere subjects, without the rights of citizens. Some elected their municipal magistrates; others received them from the ruling city. To the Phœnician colonies alone was reserved the privilege of being treated by the Punic state, not as subjects, but as *confederates*.

Such is an outline of this constitution, which was commended by two of the greatest masters of political science in the ancient world,—Aristotle and Polybius,—and which may certainly be termed a temperate aristocracy. Royalty was at first retained, after the pattern of the mother-country;

but at a very early period it gave place to aristocracy, and the kings became merely elective, and the chief magistrates of a republic.

Royalty was not here, as in Sparta, hereditary in two ruling houses, but was merely elective for life out of the more opulent families in the state. The Carthaginian kings, as we have seen, were not usually intrusted with the command of armies, but were restricted to the administration of civil affairs. This is a notable difference in the constitutions of Sparta and of Carthage. There are, however, examples in the history of the latter state, where kings commanded troops, and headed colonial expeditions.

On the senate devolved the chief authority in all matters of foreign and domestic administration. The smaller council (Γερουσία) was called that of the hundred men, and had the management of foreign affairs; the larger council, called Συγκλητος, was intrusted with the internal administration. To each of these councils were annexed species of committees, called pentarchies (Πενταρχιαι), charged with some special departments of government; like that of war, finance, and the rest.

As to the nature and constitution of the senate, we are left with very scanty means of information.

What was the exact number of its members we know not, though several passages in ancient writers show the numbers to have been considerable. Whether the senate were hereditary, or eligible by the people, or self-elective, are matters whereof we are equally ignorant.

One thing, however, is certain. To the dignity of senator, as well as to the various offices of government, no emoluments were annexed; and therefore they could be filled only by persons of wealth.

This provision, doubtless, insured the predominance of the aristocracy; but as this was an aristocracy of wealth, rather than of military prowess, or of sacerdotal origin, or even of moral and intellectual pre-eminence, mere riches, especially mercantile riches, were too highly exalted in the social scale, and thereby a dangerous stimulus was given to cupidity. This venality of charges was a defect that did not escape the penetrative eye of the Stagirite, much as he admired, on other points, the Carthaginian constitution. "For this custom," says he, "raises wealth above its real intrinsic value, and makes the whole republic covetous; for what the ruling class holds to be honourable forms the standard of opinion with the other citizens."

Another defect the great philosopher points out is the plurality of offices united in the hands of the same individual, and which is traceable to the same cause with the other.

As to the judicial tribunals of Carthage, we possess but few data for forming an opinion. The court of magistrates best known to us is that of the hundred and four men. This tribunal Aristotle compares with that of the Spartan Ephori, remarking, at the same time, that while the latter were chosen out of all classes of citizens, the former were taken only from the more respectable and opulent. Thereby, as Heeren well observes, was Carthage delivered from that plague and curse of the ancient republics,—the popular tribunals.

Of the other courts of justice in that state, nothing is known. But we know that the criminal code was most severe; and that in capital cases such atrocious punishments were awarded as mutilation of limb, stoning, crucifixion, flaying alive,

and the being devoured or trodden under-foot by wild beasts.

Such was this mercantile aristocracy, to which it is impossible to deny the merit of great excellence, when we reflect that during the first five hundred years of its existence there were but two attempts, and those unsuccessful ones, made to bring about its overthrow. Of the causes that led to the ruin of the republic I shall have occasion later to speak.

LITERATURE OF CARTHAGE.

Let us now proceed to inquire into the intellectual character of this people.

The whole literature of the Carthaginians has perished, and it has been their doom to have their history recorded, not only by foreign writers, but by writers taken from the ranks of their enemies and conquerors. That they possessed historians in their vernacular language is clear from Sallust, who, in his history of the Jugurthine war, positively declares that he drew his account of early Carthaginian history from the Punic books that had belonged to King Hiempsal, and according to the translation given him.* One Punic work only has survived the wreck of the national literature. This is a treatise on agriculture, in twenty-eight books, by the King Mago, and which, after the destruction of Carthage, the Roman senate ordered Silanus to translate into the Latin tongue. Fragments of this great work, which was much

* Qui mortales initio Africam habuerint, ut ex libris Punicis, qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est, dicam.—(Sallust, Jug. cap. xvii.)

esteemed by the ancients, still subsist in the pages of Varro, Columella, and Pliny. It is singular enough that the only subsisting monument of Punic literature should furnish fresh proof of the practical tendencies of the Phœnician mind!

After mentioning the fact of the translation of this work into Latin by order of the Senate, Pliny adds that the libraries of Carthage were given up to the Numidian kings—a fact which in itself proves the high intellectual cultivation of this people.

“We are generally inclined,” says Niebuhr, “to form erroneous notions of the Carthaginians, for we imagine them to have been a people with extensive dominions, but rude and barbarous. But the arts had reached a high degree of perfection among them, as we not only know from passages in which they are incidentally mentioned, but roads constructed according to principles of art are first met with among the Carthaginians, and the art with which the Romans made their high roads was probably derived from the Carthaginians. The accounts of the capture of their city give evidence of immense splendour. They had numerous manufactures, and the art of painting on glass, in particular, was carried to very great perfection. Many pieces of ancient glass, which are found in the tombs in the interior of Guinea, and which can have been carried thither only by commerce, may give us some idea of that art. I have seen pieces of surpassing beauty.”

“The Carthaginians,” continues Niebuhr, “derived their civilization from the Tyrians, and that all the arts of brass-founding, and those of an ornamental character, were developed at Tyre as early as the time of Solomon, may be seen from

the historical books of the Old Testament. And there can be no doubt that these arts were still further developed by the Carthaginians.”*

So far Niebuhr. The only question is, whether among those noble specimens of art found by the Romans on the taking of Carthage, all were the products of native skill, or whether the spoils of the Greek cities of Sicily were not intermingled with them ?

The Greek influence, which was to absorb the Western as well as the Eastern world, had penetrated here even before the Macedonian conquests.† Resistance here, as at Rome, was early made to the introduction of Greek literature ; but a law passed to that effect was soon abrogated. Hannibal himself received a Greek education, cultivated the society of Greek literati, and composed his memoirs in the Greek language. “ From the age of three to twelve,” says a modern historian, “ the children of the great Carthaginian families were brought up in the temple ; from twelve to twenty they learned all in regard to industry and the different trades ; and then at twenty they were trained to military exercises. They were then called upon to choose the profession which they would embrace,—the priesthood or the navy, or commerce, industry, or the army. The Greek language, which had now become prevalent, was, with its literature and philosophy, taught by Greek professors.”‡

* Lectures on Ancient History, vol. iii. p. 156, translated by Dr. L. Schmitz.

† On the wide diffusion of the Greek language in the three centuries before our Lord, see Hug’s elaborate account in his Introduction to the New Testament, vol. ii.

‡ Histoire Universelle, par Césaire Cantu, traduit de l’Italien, tom. xi. p. 50. Louvain, 1848.

The remains of Carthaginian art are almost as scanty as those of the literature. Sir Grenville Temple, for six months, caused excavations to be made in the environs of Carthage. Among the monuments discovered I may name the Temple of the Celestial Juno, or Thamat, in whose ruins were found about seven hundred coins, and various utensils made of earth or glass, a pleasure-house on the shores of the sea, with painted walls and mosaic pavement, remains of statues and lamps, fragments of Punic inscriptions, and an entire one. In those environs, about a hundred and thirty inscriptions, for the most part funereal, have been found. Some are Numidian, in African characters. Traces of the great aqueduct for the irrigation of the gardens and fields have also been found out.

I may add that this very year, in Tyre, several Phœnician inscriptions have been discovered, which, by the aid of the Hebrew, have been deciphered, and furnish us with the names of several Tyrian kings, unknown to us before.

Here is the place to say a few words on the colonies of Carthage.

Of these, Sardinia was one of the chief. Diodorus Siculus, after stating that a descendant of Hercules—Iolaus—had colonized Sardinia, had there built splendid cities, had divided the lands, and had constructed gymnasia and temples to the gods, says that he called the inhabitants after himself, Iolæans. He adds, that an oracle had declared that as long as this people preserved that name, they should enjoy this freedom inviolate. "The truth of this oracle," he says, "has been verified even to the present day. For the Carthaginians, though in the zenith of their power they

took this island, were unable to reduce its ancient inhabitants to servitude. For the latter flew to their mountains, and having constructed their habitations underground, reared numerous flocks of cattle. Hence an abundance of milk, cheese, and meat supplied their bodily wants. Having deserted the fields, they abandoned at the same time the cares of agriculture. Although the Carthaginians often marched against them with considerable forces, yet the difficulty of the locality, and the inextricable windings of these subterraneous abodes, ever served to protect them from slavery."

The historian goes on to say, "that, for the same reasons, the Romans, with all their power, were equally unsuccessful against this people."*

It is worthy of remark, that even at the present day the mountaineers of Sardinia go about clad in sheepskins, and altogether lead a rude, uncultivated life.

Calaris, or the modern Cagliari, was built by the Carthaginians.

The Balearic Isles, whereof the principal are the modern Majorca and Minorca, were also colonized and possessed by the Carthaginians. They were, according to Diodorus, called by the Greeks the Gymnasian Isles, because the inhabitants in the summer months went about naked. They were also more frequently termed the Balearic Isles, from the Greek word βαλλειν (to cast), because of the singular skill of the inhabitants in the use of the sling.

They were in antiquity, as in modern times, remarkable for their fertility in corn, and wine,

* Diod. Sic. Bibl. tom. iii. lib. v. pp. 281, 282.

and oil, and hemp, as well as for a very fine breed of mules.

Their inhabitants were extremely prone to dissoluteness.

"Pityusa [the modern Iviça] was," says Diodorus, "so called from the multitude of its pines." It was, according to this historian, equal in size to Corcyra, or the modern Corfu, but of moderate fertility. It was distinguished for the beauty of its hills and valleys, and its sheep were celebrated for the softness of their wool. The extent of its ports, the size of its cities, and the splendour of its mansions, are highly extolled by the historian. The Carthaginians there built a city called Eresus, and formed the major part of the population of the island. They migrated into it about 160 years after the foundation of Carthage.*

Before concluding the subject of the Phœnician and Carthaginian colonies, I shall take the liberty of saying a few words on the ancient intercourse between Phœnicia and Ireland.

In my former lecture I spoke of the commerce which the Phœnicians carried on with the Tin Islands, including not only the Scilly Isles, but Great Britain and Ireland, to which that people gave the name of Bratanac, signifying tin. Though, as Mr. Moore observes, no tin-mines have been discovered in Ireland, yet lead-mines, an object equally attractive to the Phœnicians, exist in this country.

That a large proportion of the Irish population was supplied from Celtic Spain is a well-authenticated tradition, on which there rests no manner of doubt. This fact, coupled with the greater proximity of Ireland to Spain, would naturally

* *Vide* Diod. Sic. lib. v. pp. 283, 284.

induce the Phœnician and Carthaginian colonists settled in the latter country, to trade more frequently with Ireland than with Albion. Further, the more accurate acquaintance which the Greeks, borrowing probably from Phœnician sources, display with the geography of Ireland rather than with that of England, is another fact corroborative of this closer commercial intercourse. Again, that the Phœnicians established factories both in England and in Ireland is a circumstance which, though unrecorded in history, is in itself highly probable ; for such was the general custom of this mercantile people. But were these factories so numerous and so important as to exert a wide and permanent influence on the Irish population ? Could they affect, as some have supposed, the race of the country, its creed, its manners, its customs ? Is there even a strong admixture of Phœnician words in the Erse, such as religion and commerce might introduce into languages belonging to totally distinct families ?

On all these matters I am quite unqualified to form an opinion ; but the highest authorities on this subject, the two greatest living Irish scholars, Professor Curry, of our university, and Dr. O'Donovan, have assured me that, in regard to such an influence, there is no evidence whatever in the records and traditions of Ireland. Until, therefore, further investigation shall have elucidated this subject, it becomes us all to guard a prudent reserve. Meanwhile, it is most gratifying to observe the spirit of enlightened criticism, and severe, impartial inquiry which the scholars of Ireland are now introducing into the study of her antiquities ; for investigations so conducted, whatever may be their issue, must not only redound to the immortal

honour of their authors, but confer a lasting service on their country.

Want of space preventing me from speaking of the maritime commerce of Carthage, I shall now proceed to describe its inland trade.

THE INLAND TRADE OF CARTHAGE.

The first writer who called attention to the subject of the inland trade of Carthage, was the late German Professor Heeren. He had, indeed, the merit of first showing how important an element in the civilization of nations was commerce in general; and though he at times unduly magnified its importance, still, it cannot be denied that he threw considerable light on this interesting point in the social life of nations.

It could not be expected that a commercial republic, like that of Carthage, so vigilant in turning all her local advantages to account, in espying new outlets for her trade, should have neglected the vast regions outspread in her rear. Indeed, the multitude of black slaves in Egypt, in Cyrenaica, and in Carthage, where they were employed not only in the service of individuals, but in that of the state also; the fact, too, that numbers of these slaves were found even in Greece and Italy, prove the existence of an extensive slave-trade with the interior of Africa. The circumstance, moreover, that the nomade tribes between the Great and Little Syrtis,—such as the Nasamonians, the Lotophagi, and others, who then (like their successors, the modern inhabitants of Tripoli) took a most active part in this commerce with central Africa, were subjects of Carthage, is strongly corroborative of the same

assumption. To this may be added an anecdote recorded by Athenæus, that a Carthaginian, named Mago, thrice traversed the great African desert, subsisting on nothing else but roasted flour—for such an occurrence cannot be considered as an event purely isolated. Hence, I am naturally led to make some reflections on this remarkable trade, and the still more remarkable region where it was carried on.

What a mysterious continent is Africa! For upwards of three thousand years hath it been known to mankind, and yet how imperfectly is it still known! The northern and the eastern portions of this immense region,—Carthage, Cyrene, Egypt, and Meroe,—like the splendid outer courts of a vast temple, were indeed well enough known to the ancient world. But the inner sanctuary of that temple was wrapped in impenetrable gloom; and they who entered within its sombre precincts, as if devoted to some stern, relentless divinity, rarely returned. Africa, indeed, has ever been the land of malediction. Its burning clime—its boundless wastes of sand—its pestilential vapours—its rankly-luxuriant valleys, teeming with venomous serpents and the most ferocious beasts, rendered it a fitting abode for those men of lust and violence, who, by reason of a primeval crime, had been doomed to everlasting servitude. This doom hath it continued to fulfil in every age, by driving forth its own children from its bosom, and sending them to the slave-markets of other lands. Yet, in despite of this commerce, how strangely impervious hath its interior remained to investigation! What almost insuperable obstacles hath it presented in every age to the zeal of the missionary, the enterprise of the merchant,

the research of the man of science, and the arms of the warrior!

Let us now proceed to consider the routes of ancient commerce through the dreary wastes of this inhospitable region. These pathways of ancient trade, the father of history, more than two thousand years ago, described; and the extreme accuracy of his descriptions has been, in our times, verified by the researches of intelligent travellers. At Thebes, where Herodotus sojourned for some time, and which was the converging point of the African caravans, he was enabled to obtain much information respecting that trade, as well as those regions and their inhabitants. He was enabled to receive these accounts from the lips, not of Egyptians only, but of Libyans, Cyrenæans, and Carthaginians also. From the extremity of Abyssinia, as well as from the southwestern parts of Africa, came the trading caravans to Thebes. Thence they departed for the Ammonium, or the Temple of Jupiter Ammon, in the Libyan desert; from thence they took their departure for Augila; and from this to Phasania, or the modern Fezzan. Here one set of caravans proceeded northwards to Leptis and to Carthage; and another set started southwards for the banks of the Niger. If such was the course of this trade, what were the articles of merchandise that formed its staple? Here modern travellers come to our aid, and the reason of the thing shows that, if the course of this commerce, as described by ancient historians, has remained unaltered; so the articles of merchandise, consisting, as they do, of the natural products of these countries, must have been the same in former ages as at the present day.

The commodities exported from the interior of Africa are ivory, gold dust, and gold grains, ostrich feathers, and especially black slaves; and in return the inhabitants of Nigritia receive dates, and particularly salt, whereof they are utterly destitute. In the Great Desert of Sahara, Nature has stored up immense magazines of salt, partly in lakes, partly in vast mounds rising up from the earth, partly in mines; and this condiment is absolutely needful for the health as well as the appetite of the natives of Soodan. This merchandise the inhabitants of Fezzan convey to the countries of the Niger, and in exchange receive gold, which superabounds in those regions. This precious metal, together with Negro slaves, is then transported to the northern coasts of Africa.

Here, doubtless, was a source of immense profit to the Carthaginian republic; and it is no wonder she should have striven to conceal it. The desert was to her an inexhaustible mine of wealth; she extracted from Central Africa not only the most valuable gems and precious metals, but the one which was the measure and standard of all values; and she thence drew multitudes of slaves not only for her own public and private service, but for the purpose of importation into her own colonies, like Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia, as well as into the adjacent countries of the Mediterranean.

I said a little while ago, that the researches of modern travellers had singularly verified the statements of the father of history, not only as to the routes of the inland trade of Africa, but also as to the nature of that region, and the manners of its inhabitants. The subject not being irrele-

vant to the one under discussion, I may be pardoned a short digression.

The aspect and products of the African deserts, the customs of their inhabitants, the oases, with their palm-trees and fresh fountains, the relative distances of the caravan stations, have been all most correctly described by that old diligent traveller, whom History acknowledges to be her father.

From want of space I can cite but a few examples.

The inquisitive spirit of our age, for example, has discovered the Ammonium, or oasis of Jupiter Ammon, situate in the Libyan desert, at ten days' journey from Thebes, the ancient capital of Upper Egypt. There has the ruined Temple of Ammon been found, with its Egyptian architecture, with sculptures representing the old Ammonian worship, especially the procession of the golden ship, with the palace and domains of the pontiff king, with the fountain of the sun, "that still runs icy cold by day, and by night begins to warm;" all, as Herodotus had described, and Alexander the Great had witnessed, more than two thousand years ago.

Again, the father of history, speaking of the Garamantes, or the ancient inhabitants of the modern Fezzan, says,—“These Garamantes hunt the Ethiopian Troglodytes in four-horse chariots; for the Ethiopian Troglodytes are the swiftest of foot of all men of whom we have heard any account given. The Troglodytes feed upon serpents and lizards, and such kind of reptiles; they speak a language like no other, but screech, like bats.”—(Lib. iv. c. 183.)

The Ethiopian Troglodytes mentioned by Hero-

dotus are now represented by the Tibboos of the Rock, who dwell in caverns in the mountains of Tibesti, to the south-east of Fezzan. Captain Lyon states that the Sultan of Fezzan appoints an annual hunt with horse and infantry in pursuit of these unfortunate negroes, and that, during his abode in that country, the sultan's son brought back from one of these homicidal chases eighteen hundred captives, including men, women, and children.

Even the circumstance recorded by the Greek historian as to the singular language of these Troglodytes has been attested by modern travellers. "When the inhabitants of Augila," says the German traveller Hornemann, "speak of these races, they say that their language resembles the chirping of birds."*

I pass now to the consideration of the many and various causes that brought about the decline, and prepared the downfall, of the Carthaginian republic.

DECLINE OF CARTHAGE.

The first was the want of homogeneousness in this state. The confederate Phœnician cities, like Utica, Leptis, Hadrumetum, and others, were jealous of its ascendancy. The second cause was, that that city ever remained a city, and did not assimilate the provinces to her own constitution. Those provinces, remaining vassals, were without any participation in the blessings of that constitution.

Again, the Liby-Phœnician population, and

* See Hornemann's "Reise," p. 143. See also Captain Lyon's "Narrative of a Journey through Central Africa," p. 250.

still more the pure Libyan tribes, ever entertained towards Carthage the deep-rooted hostility of race. Moreover, many of these tribes had been reluctantly forced to abandon the nomade life, and to adopt the pursuits of agriculture. Hence it is not surprising that they should have sought every opportunity to throw off the Carthaginian yoke, and should not unfrequently have broken out into bloody insurrections. Thus all those provinces, whether subject or tributary, hung by a very loose tie to the Punic city.

Lastly, the number of mercenary troops Carthage enlisted, when she attempted wars of conquest and aggrandisement, became another source of weakness and of danger.

I have already spoken of the pernicious ascendancy which the Carthaginian constitution gave to riches. This ascendancy in course of time increased; and, amid the growing corruption of morals which wealth engendered, the healthy and moral occupations of agriculture, that in the better ages of the republic had so much engaged the attention of the great families, were gradually abandoned by them. This circumstance is expressly stated by Cicero to have been one of the causes of the decline of Carthage.

The inherent vigour of her political constitution is apparent from the fact, that for the first five hundred years of her existence, as I before said, there were but two attempts at revolution, and that both these signally failed. This constitution was that of a municipal republic, well adapted for the tranquil pursuits of trade and manufactures, and which, in times of peace, could, without much difficulty, maintain its supremacy. But for a state of protracted and extensive warfare, it was not

adapted. An invasion of its territory, like that accomplished by the Greek Agathocles and the Roman Regulus, caused the defection of its vassals and its tributaries. Great foreign wars Carthage could not carry on without mercenary troops ; and the fidelity of such troops was, of course, always more or less uncertain. Hence the mother-country, Tyre, seems to have followed a wiser policy in confining itself to navigation, commerce, and manufactures, as well as to purely defensive warfare.

Into aggressive hostilities Carthage was, as it were, forced against her will. The defence of one of her best colonies—the western part of Sicily—brought her for the first time into collision with Rome. The first Punic war, which sprang up on that occasion, terminated in the loss to her of that island as well as of Sardinia. For these losses this republic strove to indemnify herself by extending her possessions in Spain, whose natives could furnish numerous mercenaries for her army, and whose mineral riches could afford her inexhaustible resources for waging hostilities.

The penetrative genius of Hannibal sees that in the circumstances of his country a defensive war could lead to no definitive result, and he boldly resolves to carry the warfare into the enemy's land. You know the glorious career of that great commander ; you know how long victory followed his standard ; you know by what almost superhuman energy he shook the Roman Capitol, and made the destinies of the Eternal City tremble in the balance.

At last Scipio imitated the policy of the Carthaginian chief, and transferred the struggle into his rival's country. There were, for the reasons above stated, by far fewer elements of cohesion in the

Punic state than in the Roman; and an invasion of the territory of the former had always proved highly dangerous to the stability of its constitution.

For a hundred years the house of Barca, to which Hannibal belonged, had been endeavouring to render the constitution more popular, and to enlarge the powers of the military commanders. These democratic innovations were resisted by the party of Hanno. The latter party, in the fear that the generals would obtain a preponderance of power dangerous to the constitution, was adverse to the war with Rome, and therefore raised every obstacle to its prosecution. The prodigious successes of Hannibal for a time silenced their clamours; but when reverses came upon this great man, this more aristocratic party renewed its opposition, in which it was joined by the popular faction, that the family of Hannibal had fostered. With the dangers of the country, this democratic faction, increased in rashness and violence, till at last it precipitated the ruin of the state. This is the history of all republics.

LAST DAYS OF CARTHAGE.

By the second Punic war, Carthage lost not only all her conquests in Italy, but was compelled to give up her fleet, the main source of her strength and greatness. Had she but retained this last sheet-anchor of safety, she might have shaken the dust off her feet, and winged her flight to those western isles of the Atlantic, which, according to Diodorus Siculus, she had always looked upon as her last asylum in the hour of extreme peril.

There, encompassed by the ocean, she might

have long defied the arms of haughty Rome. There, in those blessed Canary Isles, aptly called by the ancients the "Fortunate Isles," and which realize all that poetry had sung of the gardens of the Hesperides—where smiles a perpetual spring, abounding, as they do, in the most delicious springs, and umbrageous woods, and the most exquisite vines—where, in fine, blend all the fruits of the torrid and the temperate zone—in those blessed isles, I say, Carthage might have renewed her existence, asserted again her maritime and commercial supremacy, and possibly anticipated by many ages the discovery of the New World. But it was otherwise ordained. The rapacious eagles of Rome are flapping their wings to gorge on their hapless prey. The Roman senate loads this unfortunate people with every species of insult—it seeks by every art to entrap them into a violation of the last treaty; it stirs up their Numidian rivals to annoy and oppress them. The Carthaginians resist the encroachments and aggressions of Masinissa, secretly instigated and encouraged by the Romans; and this resistance to their ally is construed by the latter into a violation of the treaty. Hence arose the third Punic war. The Romans rejected every equitable proposal on the part of their rivals, and insisted on their abandoning their city, and building another at a distance from the sea. But how could Carthage divorce herself from that element, to which she owed her wealth and her greatness? The cruel proposition was scornfully rejected, and she resolved to oppose to her enemies all the energy of despair.

Meanwhile the unhappy republic was torn by internal factions. There was a Numidian party, a Roman party, and a party of enlightened patriots,

who sought in the constitution itself for the elements of its safety. This violent conflict of parties is ever the token of a falling state.

Tyre had already astonished the world by her heroic resistance to Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander the Great. Her descendant, in her last struggle for existence, was now to surpass the heroism of the parent.

Here, to describe the last days of Carthage, I will borrow the graphic pencil of an Italian historian.*

"The Romans," says he, "under the command of the younger Scipio, invest the unhappy city closer and closer. The Carthaginians melt down all their remnant of precious metals for the fabrication of arms; they daily manufacture a hundred bucklers, three hundred swords, five hundred lances, and a thousand darts; the slaves are liberated; the women cut off their hair to make cordage for the vessels. Out of the demolished houses they construct a fleet, which is sent against the enemy, and is repelled. For six days and six nights they defend their city street by street and house by house. The deserters, who had taken refuge in the Temple of Æsculapius, set fire to it. Hasdrubal, after an heroic resistance, submits to the Romans; his wife upbraids him for that submission, and, clad in the most splendid robes, mounts to the summit of a temple, and, holding her two children in her arms, precipitates herself into the flames. For seventeen days the city burns, and out of a population of 700,000 souls that it possessed prior to the siege, fifty thousand only survive its destruction. The Roman general

* Cesare Cantu, *Histoire Universelle*, tom. ii.

bids the plough be drawn around its walls, and, amidst the most fearful imprecations, devotes it to the infernal gods."

So far the historian. Pause, gentlemen, for a moment, and contemplate the awful spectacle that has just passed before your eyes. At the sight of such appalling heroism, of all this energy of desperation, we ask ourselves what was the cause of the phenomenon? One cause, doubtless, was the atrocious law of nations that prevailed in antiquity—a law that respected not the rights of the conquered, that trampled under foot the claims of property, and doomed the city to ravage, and its inhabitants to poverty, servitude, and even death. But we must look for another and a deeper cause still. The State was something sacred and inviolable in the eyes of the heathen. With it were intertwined all his notions of individual as well as public happiness—all his sentiments of right and justice—all his holiest feelings and recollections—all his sense of national glory—all his hopes of personal immortality. Justice itself seemed to be overthrown with the State, and the tutelary divinities themselves to be buried under its ruins. On the other hand, the Catholic Christian, secure in the Divine promises, knows that his Church will outlive the desolation of battles, the revolutions of empires, the fall of states, and the vicissitudes of time itself. But in those local, earthsprung religions, where, though there was a seed of primitive revelation, and some flowers attested a Divine origin, yet were the boughs bent and distorted by superstition, and, as in the Indian tree, the branches grew downwards:—in those local, earthsprung religions, I say, it was otherwise. Hence the overthrow of the State convulsed

and lacerated the deepest feelings of the heathen, and to an extent which it is difficult for us even to conceive. The generous Roman, who was an almost unwilling instrument in this scene of carnage and desolation, on beholding the destruction of this great city, with all its pomp, and riches, and monuments of art, and vast population, exclaimed, in the words of Homer, "The day will come when the walls of Ilium shall fall, and Priam, and all his race." He thought, doubtless, of the fate that awaited his own Rome; for on his friend and companion, the historian Polybius, asking him what he meant by Ilium and the race of Priam, he replied, without naming Rome, that he thought how the most flourishing states decline and perish, according as destiny decrees. The Roman saw indeed that his own city was one day to share the fate of her rival; but what he did not see, what he could not see, was that Rome should spring up regenerate from her ashes, and that she was one day to be favoured with an exemption from the perishableness of all earthly things. For not in vain had she been denominated the City of Strength—not in vain had the twelve vultures that had hovered round the head of Romulus betokened the eternal destinies of his city. Her earthly greatness and power was but the symbol and the prelude of her spiritual greatness and power, when she was to exchange a mortal for an immortal crown, and be invested with a rule as wide as earth, and as enduring as Time.

LECTURE IV.

LECTURE ON THE GEOGRAPHY, INSTITUTIONS, TRADE, ARTS, AND SCIENCES OF ANCIENT EGYPT.

THE country whose geography and institutions, trade, arts, and sciences, I proposet his evening to describe, is ancient Egypt—a country associated with our most interesting recollections, whether in sacred or in profane history. For it is the land peopled by the sons of Mizraim, the descendants of that unholy race, which first after the Flood disturbed the primeval unity of mankind, and by its rebellion and crimes drew down the anger of God, and the execration of their fellow-men; and so like their patriarch, the firstborn Cain, went forth into the wilderness, carrying about them, like him, the marks of their degraded origin. This is the land which our spiritual forefather, Abraham, visited in its rising greatness,—which Joseph ruled, and where Jacob and his children found hospitality, and where that patriarch's seed expanded into a far-spreading tree, and his sons grew up into a mighty people. This is the land where that people endured wrongs innumerable, emblematical of, and preparatory for, that long probationary state wherein their peculiar mission consisted,—where, too, their mighty deliverer and lawgiver, upheld by the arm of Omnipotence, confounded the wizards of idolatry, smote the air,

the waters, the fields, and their various habitants, not excepting even men themselves, with awful plagues, and at last broke the yoke of bondage that had so long weighed upon his nation. This is the land which henceforth becomes Israel's deadly, hereditary foe, symbolizing in the Scriptures carnal, unregenerate man; as, on the other hand, Israel represents the spiritual man, awaiting in humble faith and hope the coming of Messiah's kingdom; for this great national antithesis, if I may so speak, pervades the whole of the Old Testament. This is the land, too, against which the holy seers of God, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Nahum had thundered forth such fearful judgments, and on whose history is stamped in burning characters the doom of Divine vengeance. For thereof it had been said, "I will destroy the idols, and I will make an end of the idols of Memphis; and there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt."—(Ezekiel xxx. 13.) And again it has been said, "It shall be the lowest among other kingdoms, and it shall no more be exalted over the nations."—(Ezekiel xxix. 15.) And, lo! amid the countless vicissitudes and the stupendous revolutions of the two thousand three hundred years that intervened between her first Persian conqueror, Cambyses, and her late sovereign, Mehemet Ali, though the Persian, the Greek, the Roman, the Byzantine, the Arab, the Mameluke, and the Turk, have successively ruled over the land, and passed away as pageants,—though the worship of Mithras, the Hellenic superstition, the Catholic religion, and the creed of Islam, have been successively introduced and successively expelled, or at least set aside, never, amid all these great revolutions, religious and

social, has an Egyptian ruled over Egypt.* And surely she has been what Ezekiel had foretold, "the lowest or the basest of the kingdoms," when (a thing unexampled in history!) she was governed by an aristocracy of slaves—those vicious, degraded Mamelukes, cursed with barrenness, and forced to be perpetually renovated from the slave-markets of Circassia.

Again, Egypt is the land which the Saviour himself had hallowed by His presence in that mysterious flight from Palestine, which already prefigured the rejection of the once chosen people, and the future conversion of Gentility. Lastly, here, at a later period, the night-flower of a gloomy Magic was changed into the bright sun-flower of Christian Mysticism; and those old wizards, that had loved to haunt the dark caverns of subterranean life, became the glorious ecstasies, often rapt in the vision of the Beatific Presence, and startling the wilderness with their stupendous signs, and the still greater marvels of their sanctity.

But if in sacred and ecclesiastical history Egypt holds so conspicuous a place, not less important is the part she plays in the world's annals. Here was a people, whose origin was as mysterious as the sources of its own Nile—for it is not yet quite determined (though the last opinion be the most probable) whether its civilization descended that mighty stream from Meroe to Thebes, or whether it ascended it from Thebes to Meroe,—here was a nation depending for its wealth, its refinement,

* The fact that during the period, from the year 414 to 354 B.C., Egypt, after throwing off, for a time, the Persian yoke, was ruled by a few native kings, forms no material exception to the truth of this remark.

may, its very existence, upon a single river; a nation singular in all its manners, customs, laws, and institutions, having scarcely a counterpart in history, save in the strange inhabitants of the banks of the Ganges. Here was a people, possessing in its theology noble remnants of primitive revelation, intermingled with notions and practices of the grossest superstition, now surprising us by its ethical wisdom, and now shocking us by its anile credulity; now seeking its fate in the stars, and now, by the arts of an infernal magic, searching in quest of forbidden science; a people of anomalies such as perhaps never existed on the earth, and whose very cities were often engaged in bloody religious wars. Here was a people having glorious formulas of primeval science, but often unable to apply them; retaining a noble instrument, whereof it had in part lost the use. On the other hand, here was a nation great in arts and in arms, achieving mighty conquests, carrying on extensive commerce, abounding in all the conveniences and luxuries of life, and erecting colossal monuments of art, some whereof have resisted the action of thousands of years, while others in their very ruins fill us with awe, as the creations of superhuman power. This was the land, too, so renowned in classic antiquity, which Homer sung, which Lycurgus and Solon visited for the wisdom of its laws, where Pythagoras and Plato drank in many of their noble inspirations, and which Herodotus described.

Let us begin with the geography of this ancient country.

GEOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT EGYPT.

Egypt, a country situate in the north-east corner of Africa, was bounded on the north by the Mediterranean; on the east by Palestine, Arabia Petræa, and the Red Sea; on the south by Æthiopia, which included the modern Nubia, Sennaar, and Abyssinia; and on the west by the great Libyan desert. In a more confined sense, Egypt was the valley watered by the Nile, from the first cataract down to the Mediterranean sea. This remarkable and celebrated land was called by the Greeks Αἴγυπτος, by the Romans Ægyptus; but in the Scriptures it occurs under the name of Mizraim; for it was peopled by the posterity of Mizraim, the second son of Cham. It is also called the land of Cham; for of Jacob it is said, "He was a stranger in the land of Cham." By the modern Arabs, Egypt is named *Mesr* (which is the same appellation as Mizraim); by the Turks, *El Kebab*, that is, the inundated; and by the Copts it is termed *Chami*.

Egypt was divided by Sesostris into thirty-six nomes or districts, whereof twenty-six were in Upper or Southern, and ten in Lower or Northern Egypt. The Greeks adopted the number of nomes, adding to them four districts; but divided the country into Upper, Central, and Lower Egypt. The first was called Thebaïs, and extended from Syene, or the modern Assuan, to Hermopolis Magna, or the modern Eshmounein. This portion of Egypt is named by the Arabs the Said. Central Egypt, stretching from Hermopolis Magna to Memphis, was by the Greeks called Heptanomis, as containing seven nomes or districts. Among

the Arabs it bears the name of Mesr Mostani. Lower Egypt, extending from Memphis to the Mediterranean, was by the Greeks termed the Delta, because it was in the shape of an inverted delta, whose apex was at Memphis, and whose base was along the Mediterranean. The modern Arabs call it El Bahari.

The climate of Upper Egypt is exceedingly dry and sultry, the rain there scarcely ever falling. In Lower Egypt the heat is attempered by cooling sea-breezes. That country knows but two seasons—spring and summer; the spring lasting from November to February, and the summer the remaining months of the year.

The Simoom, or wind of the desert, there exercises the greatest ravages; while the plague, small-pox, and inflammatory fevers, still continue indigenous to the land. Ophthalmia, the effect of the dazzling reflection of the sun on the white sand, is another of the plagues with which this country is afflicted.

The valley of the Nile has always been celebrated for its extreme fertility. Indeed, it is the only fertile tract which greets the eye in those immense sandy wastes that stretch between the tenth and thirtieth degrees of north latitude, from the western shores of the Atlantic to the banks of the Indus. Whatever spot in ancient, as well as in modern times, the waters of the Nile were unable to reach, in order there to deposit the rich alluvial soil, there the wilderness usurped dominion.

Now I may say a few words on that singular river, which was not only the most marked physical peculiarity of Egypt, but was a phenomenon exerting the greatest influence on her moral and

social life. The Delta was literally a gift of the Nile; and even Upper Egypt was indebted for its great fertility to the canals, and other means of artificial irrigation, drawn from its stream. This river, the only one in Egypt, is called by Homer the Aiguptos,* and by the Greeks of later times the Neilos, the Nile. In the Bible it is termed the River (hajeor), and even the troubled or black river (schichor), because of the slime which it carries along with it, and deposits in its inundations.† Here the classical and Biblical etymologies agree; for some derive the name Neilos from an old Indian word, Nilas, signifying black.

The Nile, which in one of its branches issues from the high mountains of Al Kamar, or the Moon, traverses Egypt in many windings from south to north. "The sources of this river," says a distinguished living French geographer, M. Bouillet, "were a problem insoluble to the ancients; and the moderns themselves have but very recently solved it." Ptolemy was the first to place those sources in the Mountains of the Moon, called by the Arabs El Kamar; and that opinion prevails to this day. He adds that "Caillaud and M. D'Abbadie are the travellers we are the most indebted to for this discovery. The latter found out the chief source of the Blue Nile, or the Bahr el Azrek, in the year 1846, and thus completed the discovery of Bruce." ‡

The Nile takes its rise to the south of Darfur, in the mountains of Al Kamar, towards 34° 38'

* Od. iv. 355.

† Gen. xli. 1; Jer. xi. 18; Is. xxxiii. 3.

‡ Dict. de Géog. par M. Bouillet, tom. iii. Bruxelles, 1854.

longitude east from the meridian of Paris, and $7^{\circ} 49'$ north latitude; flows at first, under the name of Bahr el Abiad, or the White River, to the east and the north-east; then runs due north; receives in its course the tributary streams of the Maleg, the Bahr el Azrek, or the Blue River, and the Atbarah, or the ancient Astaboras; and thus traverses the country of Donga, that of the Chelouks, the Denka, and passes between Dar el Aize, in Sennaar, and Kordofan. It then takes the name of the Nile, flows through Abyssinia and Nubia, waters the lands of Halfay, of Shendy, of Damer, of Berber, of Chaykye, of Dongolah, of Mahas, of Sokkot, of Hadjar, and of the Barabras; and so reaches the frontiers of Egypt. Thence it runs in an almost direct line from south to north, till in $30^{\circ} 12'$ north latitude it diverges into two branches, which themselves, by their ramifications, form seven arms and seven mouths, called by the ancients the Canopic, the Bolbitine, the Sebenitic, the Phatnitic, the Mendesian, the Tanitic, and the Pelusiatic.* The course of this river is 3,500 English miles.

It is singular that the same age which has witnessed the deciphering of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, should have beheld the discovery of the sources of the Nile: for in this mysterious land, Nature, like Man, seemed anxious to shroud her works in obscurity.

Another subject, which, no less than the sources of the Nile, excited the curiosity, and exercised the ingenuity of the learned of antiquity, was the cause of its periodic inundations. Various reasons, more or less fanciful, were assigned for this phe-

* *Vide* Balbi, *Géographie Moderne*, pp. 912—914.

nomenon. At length Agatharchides, the traveller and geographer, who flourished in the second century before our era, divined the true cause, by ascribing the periodic overflow of this river to the annual melting of the snows on the mountains of Abyssinia, and still more to the tropical rains, which at the same time descend in Æthiopia. Modern investigation has confirmed the conjectures of this ancient writer.

In the last days of June the river begins to swell above its banks; in the middle of August the dikes are cut, and the flood drawn off by countless canals; and towards the end of September, the inundation has attained to its greatest height. At this period the Delta looks like a vast sea studded with islands; and Upper Egypt, where the banks of the river are much higher, and consequently where the inundation is contracted within narrower limits, has the appearance of an inland lake.

The water of the Nile was particularly sweet, and was thought worthy of being served up at the luxurious table of the Persian monarch. The river abounded in excellent fish. This was one of the good things for which the carnal soul of Israel craved in the wilderness. But the crocodile and the hippopotamus were the two most remarkable animal products of this stream. The former is well-known, and has been described by the Father of History with all the graphic vigour of an eye witness. This amphibious animal, which, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus, frequented in ancient times the whole course of the river, is now scarcely ever seen below Upper Egypt. The hippopotamus, too, now never descends the Nile below the second cataract. This four-footed mammiferous

beast, which many think is the behemoth spoken of in the Book of Job,* is thus described by Herodotus,—“It is a quadruped, cloven-footed, with the hoofs of an ox, snub-nosed, has the mane of a horse, projecting tusks, and the tail and neigh of a horse; in size, it is equal to a very large ox; its hide is so thick that spear-handles are made of it when dry.”†

This description of the animal is correct, except as to its size, which is much understated by the Greek historian. The eminent German naturalist, Dr. Oken, says that it is often seventeen feet in length and seven feet high, and exceeds the elephant in bulk. It lies mostly in the depths of the water, but from time to time comes up to the sedgy banks to browse on herbs and plants.‡ It is an inhabitant of the Niger also, and some other African rivers.

The Nile, which, as the fountain of life, fertility, and civilization to Egypt, was made an object of divine honours, possesses for the Christian, too, a high and enduring interest. For the great Hebrew lawgiver was born on its reedy banks, and by a divinely-imparted power he converted its waters into blood.

To measure the elevation of the Nile's waters at the period of their overflow, the ancient Egyptians had very remarkable scales, which they called Nilometers. These were intrusted to the care of the priests, as even at the present day they are reserved to the superintendence of the Government. If the waters rose to thirty feet, then a fruitful year was to be expected, and the joy of

* Job xl. 15.

† Herod. b. ii. c. 71.

‡ *Vide* Oken, Zoolog., tom. ii. p. 772.

the people was unbounded. When the Nile had risen to a suitable height, then the dikes near Memphis were pierced, and the water let into all the canals and lakes. But when the waters had not reached the due elevation, then the canals, shut or opened by the sluices, poured out their streams to irrigate the thirsty land.

Among other remarkable phenomena in the physical geography of Egypt, I must notice the lakes Mæris and Mareotis. The Father of History, after describing the wonders of the Labyrinth, says that they are surpassed by the still greater marvel of Lake Mæris. He believed it to be the work of man, and indeed of the monarch whose name it bore; and in this opinion he is followed by Pliny. But Strabo put forth the correct opinion, which modern inquiry has corroborated—that this was a natural and not an artificial lake; though some think it highly probable that it has been enlarged and improved by the hand of man. This lake, which was about three hundred miles in circumference, was the most extensive as well as remarkable one in all Egypt. It formed the western boundary of the Arsinoite nome in the Heptanomis, and was connected with the Nile by the Joseph's canal (Bahr Jusuf). A portion of its ancient bed is represented by the modern Birket el Kerun.

The other lake I shall notice is that of Mareotis or Mareia (the modern Birket el Mariout), which was a considerable lake in the north of the Delta, extending south-westward of the Canopic arm of the Nile, and running parallel to the Mediterranean. In breadth it was about twenty-two English miles, and in length about forty-two. In its northern extremity, its waters at one time

washed the walls of the city of Alexandria; and before the foundation of that city, Mareotis was termed the lake above Pharos. "It was," says the geographer Ritter, "surrounded with forts and towns, whereof Marea was the capital, and which gave its name to the nome and to the lake. Its banks were famous for the cultivation of the olive and the vine."* "Under the Pharaohs," says Dr. Smith, "Marea was one of the principal frontier garrisons of Egypt, on the side of Libya; but from the silence of Herodotus, we may infer that the Persians did not station troops there."†

CITIES OF UPPER EGYPT.

I now proceed to speak of the cities of Egypt, beginning with those of the Upper. Thebes, called by the Greeks Diospolis, and by the Hebrews No or No Ammon, was the most ancient and celebrated city of Upper Egypt. It lay on either side of the Nile and its canals, and, according to Homer's description, was of very wide circumference:—

A hundred gates hath the city, and from each
Two hundred brave warriors march to the fight,
With steeds and with cars.—Iliad, ix. 381.

The vast extent of this city, its commodious situation, which made it the emporium of trade with Arabia and the interior of Africa, its great opulence, its sumptuous temples and palaces, the abode of the Pharaohs within its walls, and the sanctity which attached to it as the resort of so

* Africa. Ritter's Geography, p. 476. French trans.

† Geography of Greeks and Romans, Art. Marea.

many pilgrims, marked it out pre-eminently as the capital of Egypt. And even when Memphis became the chief seat of Government, it still retained much of its ancient importance.

The prophet Nahum thus denounces the doom of Thebes:—"Art thou better than populous No, that dwells among the rivers? Waters are round about it; the sea is its riches; the waters are its walls; Ethiopia and Egypt were the strength thereof, and there is no end; Africa and the Libyans were thy helpers, yet she also was removed and carried into captivity; her young children were dashed in pieces at the top of every street; and they cast lots upon her nobles; and all her great men were bound in fetters."—(Nahum, iii. 8—10.)

And the subjugation of this city by Nebuchadnezzar was foretold by the prophet Jeremiah in the following words:—"The Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, saith, 'Behold I will visit upon the tumult of No, and upon Pharaoh, and upon Egypt, and upon her gods, and upon her kings, and upon Pharaoh, and upon them that trust in him; and I will deliver them into the hands of them that seek their lives, and into the hand of Nabuchadonozor, King of Babylon, and into the hand of his servants.'"—(Jer. xlvii. 25, 26.)

Thebes was taken by the Persian conqueror Cambyses, delivered up to pillage by Ptolemy Lathyrus, against whom it had revolted, and almost entirely destroyed by Cornelius Gallus, governor of Egypt under Augustus, till at last it fell under the domination of the Mussulmans, whose blighting sway is here, as everywhere else apparent. On the ruins of the ancient city, which occupy a space of about twenty-five miles, stand

now the villages of Carnac, Luxor, Medinet Abou, and Gournou, like the wretched poverty-stricken descendants of some illustrious house.

The ruins of Thebes have been described and carefully engraved by the artists and scholars, who accompanied Napoleon into Egypt, and by their later successors, Wilkinson, Champollion, Rosellini, and Prokesch. To their works I beg to refer all who wish to investigate this interesting subject, remarking only that the walls of the temples and palaces of Thebes are covered over with figures or hieroglyphs representing the deeds of the ancient Kings.

2. Syene (the modern Assuan), situate on the eastern bank of the Nile, and on the frontiers of Æthiopia, was the southernmost city of Egypt.

The prophet Ezekiel thus denounces its desolation by the Chaldees:—"Thus saith the Lord: They also that uphold Egypt shall fall; and the pride of her empire shall be brought down; from the tower of Syene shall they fall in it by the sword, saith the Lord, the God of hosts."—(Ezekiel, xxx. 6.) And again the holy seer cries out:—"Therefore, behold I come against thee, and thy rivers; and I will make the land of Egypt utterly desolate and wasted by the sword, from the tower of Syene, even to the borders of Ethiopia."—(xxiv. 10.)

"It has been," says Dr. Smith, "in all ages the southern frontier city of Egypt towards Æthiopia, and under the Romans was guarded by three cohorts. From its neighbourhood was obtained the fine red granite, called Syenitis lapis."* Syene being under the tropic, was celebrated in

* New Classical Dictionary, p. 734.

antiquity for a well, at the bottom of which was reflected the sun at the time of the summer solstice. To this city Juvenal was banished.

The present Assuan, an insignificant place, lies somewhat north-east of the ancient Syene, and rose out of the ruins of the Roman city of that name.

Thebes and Syene are the only cities of Upper Egypt mentioned in the Old Testament.

3. The city of Philæ was situate on a small lovely island of the same name, about two miles south of Syene, and just above the little cataract. Many ancient monuments, especially two fine temples, are there found in excellent preservation.

4. Elephantine, or Elephantis, was in one of those charming islands to the south of Syene, which are called the gardens of the tropics. It was the frontier station of Egypt towards Æthiopia, and was strongly garrisoned under the Persians and the Romans. "Among the most remarkable objects in it," says Dr. Smith, "were the temple of Cnuphis and a Nilometer; and it is still celebrated for the ruins of its rock-hewn temples."

5. Ombi (in Greek "Ομβοι) was distant about thirty miles from Syene, and stood on the eastern bank of the Nile, in the Ombites Nomos. It was celebrated for the worship it paid to the crocodile, and for the religious wars it carried on with the city of Tentyra, which held that worship in abomination.

Coptos lay a little to the east of the Nile, some distance below Thebes. It was the great emporium of the Indian trade with Europe, the merchandise being conveyed from the Red Sea to Coptos on the back of camels. Having revolted

against Diocletian, it was, in the year 296, taken and destroyed by that emperor; but it subsequently regained much of its commercial importance.

6. Abydus (in Greek 'Αβυδος) was another city of Upper Egypt, once the first after Thebes; but already, in the time of Strabo, it had sunk to the insignificance of a village. It had a temple of Osiris, and a Memnonium (both still standing), and an oracle. Here, in the year 1818, Mr. W. Banks discovered in the interior wall of a building not belonging to the great edifice, a kind of tablet or genealogy of the early kings of Egypt, which is now usually called the Tablet of Abydos.

7. Tentyra, the modern Denderah, was a city of Upper Egypt, situate on the western bank of the Nile, between Abydos and Coptos, with celebrated temples of Athor (the Egyptian Venus), Isis, and Typhon. Its inhabitants were distinguished for their hatred of the crocodile, and consequently were the hereditary foes of the people of Ombi, who worshipped that animal. Among the magnificent ruins of this place are those of the great temple, where was found the famous zodiac conveyed into France, in the year 1821, and by the aid whereof unbelief sought to assign to Egyptian astronomy an age quite inconsistent with the Mosaic chronology. Scholars of the first order have proved the utter groundlessness of this assumption, and that the zodiac in question does not date from a period anterior to the Ptolemies.

8. Lycopolis, the modern Syout, another city of Upper Egypt, on the western bank of the Nile, between Hermopolis and Ptolemais, is said by Dr. Smith to have derived its name from the cir-

cumstance, that an Ethiopian army was put to flight near it by a pack of wolves. The wolf, or rather the jackal, which the ancients took for a wolf, was honoured in this city. It gave birth to the philosopher Plotinus.

9. Latopolis was another city of Upper Egypt, on the western bank of the Nile, between Thebes and Apollinopolis. Some say, that, in common with some other cities, it received this name from the Greeks, because it was consecrated to the goddess Buto, whom they identified with their own Latona. Others assert that the city was so called from the Nile fish *Latus* (*Δαρός*), to whose worship it was dedicated, and which was the symbol of the goddess Neith, whom the Greeks considered identical with their Athena.

THE CITIES OF HEPTANOMIS, OR CENTRAL EGYPT.

The chief cities of Central Egypt were Memphis, Crocodilopolis, and Heracleopolis.

The city of Memphis lay in a rather narrow valley on the western bank of the Nile, at some miles above the bifurcation of that river. Called by the Greeks and Romans Memphis, it was denominated by the Hebrews Moph, or Noph, by the Copts Mephi, or Memphi, and by the Arabs, Menf. Built by Menes, enlarged and restored by Uchoreas, it was long the capital of a large state; and when, under Psammetichus, Egypt was united into a single empire, it became the capital of the whole country. Its circumference was about 150 stadia or three geographical miles and three quarters. It was connected by canals with the Lakes Mæris and Mareotis, and was the great centre of Egyptian commerce, down to the Persian conquest;

in the year 525 before Christ, when it was partially destroyed by Cambyses.

Among the many splendid edifices that adorned Memphis, I may mention the Royal Palace, and the Phtha, or Vulcán, with the annexed court of the god-bull, Apis—which was worshipped as the symbol of generative power. To this refers the passage of the prophet:—"Thus saith the Lord God: I will also destroy the idols, and I will make an end of the idols of Memphis (Noph): and I will make a fire in Egypt: Pelusium (Sin) shall be in pain, like a woman in labour, and Alexandria* shall be laid waste; and in Memphis (Noph) there shall be daily distress."—(Ezekiel, xxx. 13, 16.)

Earthly glory had so infatuated the great, that they idolized themselves; for Isaiah saith—"The princes of Tanis (Zoan) are become fools; the princes of Memphis (Noph) are gone astray: they have deceived Egypt, the stay of the people thereof. —(xix. 13.)

The conquest of Egypt by Cambyses, and still more the foundation of Alexandria, and the transfer of the seat of power to that city by the Ptolemies, brought about the decline of Memphis. The Arabs, who conquered Egypt in the seventh century, built out of the ruins of the ancient Memphis the modern Cairo and other adjoining cities. "Cairo," says a modern writer, "rises, like a vision of the Arabian Nights' Tales, adorned partly with Saracenic, partly with old Egyptian monuments. Near the village Mitraheny, between Ghizeh and Sakkarah, huge mounds of earth

* Instead of Alexandria the name ought to be Thebes, as all critics are agreed.

mark the site of the old, celebrated Memphis. A colossal statue, deeply sunk into the earth, and some blocks of granite, are now the only remains of that city, whose vast necropolis is thought to have filled the whole tract extending from the pyramids of Ghizeh to the pyramids of Darshur."

2. Crocodilopolis, or Arsinoe, was another city of Central Egypt, situated on a canal leading from the Nile to lake Mœris. Its present name is Medinet el Fayoum.

3. Heracleopolis the Great was distinguished by that title from another city of the same name. It was to the south of Crocodilopolis, and celebrated for the worship there rendered to the Ichneumon. Between the Great and Little Heracleopolis was the famous labyrinth, composed of twelve palaces, where, according to Herodotus, the deputies of all the Egyptian nomes assembled to offer sacrifices in common.

Heracleopolis was called by the Hebrews Hanes, or Chanes, and by the modern Arabs Abnas. It was the seat of an Egyptian dynasty in the time of the prophet Isaiah, who thus denounces the league which the Israelites had concluded with the Egyptians. Among other things he says:—"And the strength of Pharaoh shall be to your confusion, and the confidence of the shadow of Egypt to your shame. For thy princes were in Tanis, and thy messengers came even to Hanes," that is, to crave assistance.—(Isaiah, xxx. 3, 4.)

The ancient Hanes has now sunk into a village, and shows few remains of its ancient greatness.*

* *Vide* Description de l'Égypt, c. iv. p. 404.

THE CITIES OF LOWER EGYPT.

Lower Egypt comprised a very great number of important cities, among which On, or Heliopolis, Pelusium, Tanis, Sais, Tamiathis (Dami-etta), Bolbitine, or the modern Rosetta, and Canopus, or the modern Aboukir are particularly worthy of notice.

1. Heliopolis, called by the Egyptians On, which signifies light, was celebrated for its temple of Phre, over which a numerous priesthood presided. Like the Apis at Memphis, so likewise in the temples of Heliopolis a bull was kept as the symbol of the god Mnevis. In the times of the Ptolemies, Heliopolis still flourished as a celebrated school of philosophy; and the geographer Strabo, who in the reign of the Emperor Augustus visited the city in its state of desolation, was shown the houses where dwelt Plato and Eratosthenes, when they learned the lessons of sacerdotal wisdom.

The Persians are said to have destroyed this city, whereof there are no remains but a single obelisk.

We read in the book of Genesis that Joseph's father-in-law was one of the priests in the temple of Heliopolis. By the mediation of Pharaoh, the favoured Joseph, who, because of the services he had rendered to Egypt, was called the deliverer of the people, received from the hand of Potiphar, the priest at Heliopolis, Arsenath for his wife, who bore him two sons, Manasses and Ephraim.

"In a little village," says Dr. Allioli, "situate near the site of the ancient Heliopolis, and called Matarieh, there stands a primitive sycamore-tree,

and about fifty steps from it runs a clear rivulet. According to a tradition many centuries old, the Holy Family, when on their flight into Egypt they came out of the wilderness, rested under this sycamore, found refreshment in the sweet and pleasant waters of the spring, and then turned their steps towards Memphis." "As she," exclaims the pious and illustrious Protestant naturalist and traveller, Schubert—"as she, the chosen one among women, proceeded hence towards Memphis, and saw around her the splendour of the temples of Heliopolis, and before her the magnificence of the pyramids, how little must all the glory of this world have seemed unto her, compared with that Glory she bore in her arms and upon her breast, as well as within her heart!"*

2. Tanis, called by the Hebrews Zoan, was a very ancient city, built on the eastern bank of the Nile, in Lower Egypt, and gave its name to the Tanitic branch of that river. It was one of the capitals of the ancient kings of Lower Egypt, as well as the scene of the wondrous signs wrought by Moses in the name of Jehovah. Of these the Psalmist reminds the Israelites, lest they should relapse into the obstinacy of their fathers. "Marvellous things did He do in the sight of their fathers, in the land of Egypt, in the field of Tanis (Zoan). . . . They remembered not His hand in the day that He redeemed them from the hand of him that afflicted them; how He wrought His signs in Egypt, and His wonders in the field of Tanis (Zoan). And He turned their rivers into

* Schubert's Travels in Palestine and Egypt (in German).

blood, and their floods that they might not drink.”
—(Psalm, lxxvii. 12, 42, 44.)

Among the cities of Egypt which, according to the prediction of Ezekiel, were to be laid waste by the Chaldees, Tanis is mentioned. “And I will destroy the land of Phatures (Upper Egypt), and will make a fire in Tanis (Zoan).”—(Ezekiel, xxx. 14.)

The present San, says Dr. Allioli, situate on the eastern bank of the Tanitic arm of the Nile, some leagues from the lake Menzaleh, yet contains considerable ruins of the ancient Zoan or Tanis. The French scholar, M. Malus, found here in company with his friends seven obelisks in part mutilated, a broken monument of granite, vases of fine clay, and specimens of highly-polished crystal.*

3. Pelusium was called in the old Egyptian Peremoun or Peromi, and in the Hebrew Sin—names derived from words signifying mud. It was a fortified city on the northern frontier of Egypt towards Palestine, distant two geographical miles from the Mediterranean, and lay in a swampy region, from which, indeed, it derived its name. This city was considered to be the key which closed Egypt against any foe advancing from the eastern quarter. It was strongly fortified, and was the scene of many battles and sieges in the successive wars in which Egypt was engaged with Assyria, Persia, Syria, and Rome.

Over this strong place the Chaldeans, under Nebuchadnezzar, executed the divine judgment set forth by the prophet Ezekiel:—“And I will pour out my indignation upon Pelusium (Sin),

* Mem. sur l’Egypte, tom. ii. p. 274. Allioli’s Bib. Antiq. ii. tom.

the strength of Egypt. . . . And I will make a fire in Egypt. Pelusium (Sin) shall be in pain, like a woman in labour.—(Ezekiel, xxx. 15, 16.)

The present castle, situate near the ruins of Pelusium, or Sin, the Arabs call Tineh, which also signifies mire.

4. Sais was a considerable city of the Delta, on the eastern side of the Canopic branch of the Nile. It was one of the chief cities of Lower Egypt, and contained the palace and burial-place of the Pharaohs, as well as the tomb of Osiris. It had a splendid temple dedicated to the goddess Neith, whereon was read the inscription, "I am what hath been, what is, what shall be; no mortal hath ever raised the veil which covereth me."

Adorned with sumptuous buildings, it was one of the main seats of Egyptian learning and philosophy, and was in consequence frequently visited by the sages of ancient Greece. Its present name is Sa; but it is nought but a mass of ruins.

5. Canopus, or Canobus (in Greek *Κάνωπος*, or *Κάνωβος*, the modern Aboukir), was an important city on the coast of Lower Egypt, near the westernmost mouth of the Nile, which was hence called the Canopic mouth. It was in the enjoyment of an extensive commerce. It possessed celebrated temples dedicated to Serapis, and the water-god, Canopus. The Greeks said that it derived its name from a Greek pilot of Menelaus. "Its inhabitants," says Dr. Smith,* "were proverbial for their luxury, and hence came the Greek word *Κανωβισμός*. After the establishment of Christianity, the city rapidly declined."

* New Classical Dictionary, p. 143.

6. Lastly, there was Naucratis, a city of Lower Egypt, situate on the eastern bank of the Canopic branch of the Nile, which was hence called Naucraticuen Ostium. This, in the words of the writer just quoted, was a colony of the Milesians, founded probably in the reign of Amasis, about 550 B.C.; it remained a pure Greek city. It was the only place in Egypt where Greeks were permitted to settle and trade.

It was the birthplace of Athenæus, Lyceas, Phylarcus, Polycharmus, and the grammarian, Julius Pollux, the author of the "Onomasticon."*

My limits will not allow me to enter upon the history of this people; and this omission is the less inconvenient, as its history and chronology are now the subject of anxious investigations, from which important results may ere long be expected.

I will content myself with citing the following observations from two works of authority on the subject of

EARLY EGYPTIAN HISTORY.

"The chronology of the old monarchy," says a modern English writer, "and the succeeding division of the Egyptian monarchy (the middle monarchy) is beset with, at present, insurmountable difficulties, since, in the first place, there are no synchronisms in the annals of other nations to guide the inquirer, and in the next we know not whether the dynasties in Manetho should be taken as a *series*, or whether he enumerates *contemporaneous* families of kings, some of whom reigned at the same time at Memphis, and others at Sais,

* New Classical Dictionary, p. 468.

Xois, and Thebes. And even if Manetho himself intended his dynasties to follow one another in direct order, the question still remains, whether his authorities did so too.”—(Dr. Smith’s *Geography of the Greeks and Romans*. Art. Egypt, p. 42.) And to the same effect, a writer in the *French Catholic Encyclopædia* of the present century observes, “The dynasties of Manetho, if we suppose them *successive*, would form a total of more than five thousand three hundred years. The greater part of chronologists think that those dynasties reigned *simultaneously* over different parts of Egypt. They recognize four principal ones—those of Thebes, of This, of Memphis, and of Tanis. This opinion, which is the only one reconcilable with biblical chronology, is moreover corroborated by various monuments, and especially by the history of the Shepherd Kings. The latter reigned in Lower Egypt, while the Pharaohs filled the throne of Thebes.”*

* *Encyclopédie Catholique du Dix-neuvième Siècle*, p. 216.—To these high authorities I have much pleasure in adding the testimony of one of the greatest Egyptian archæologists of the present day, Sir J. G. Wilkinson. In the valuable and interesting annotations himself and Sir Henry Rawlinson have appended to the second volume of the translation of Herodotus, which the brother of the latter has just published, I find the following remarks on Egyptian chronology:—“The names of kings, and the number of years, says Sir G. Wilkinson, given by Manetho, are not to be taken as of *consecutive reigns*; for not only do we know, from the authority of Manetho, that there were contemporary kings of Thebais, and of the other provinces of Egypt, but the monuments themselves decide this point, by the mention of the *years of one king’s reign corresponding with those of another*; and by the representation of *one king meeting another*, generally as his superior; as well as by various statements in papyri and other documents.”—*Vide* Appendix to Book ii. of Rawlinson’s *Translations of*

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS OF THE EGYPTIANS.

I now come to speak of the religious institutions of Egypt. Many noble remnants there were of primitive revelation in the Egyptian theology. The unity of the Godhead was clearly taught; and the creation was symbolized by the universe in the shape of an egg issuing from the mouth of Kneph. The great dogma of the Trinity was here less corrupted than in the Indian mythology. Plutarch says, in his treatise "*De Iside atque Osiride*," that the supreme science of the Egyptians consisted in regarding Phtha as the great architect of the universe. His wisdom was adored at Sais, under the name of Neith; and his goodness in Elephantine, under that of Kneph, whose symbol was a serpent revolving round itself.

No nation, too, had a more vivid sense of the doctrine of the soul's immortality than the Egyptians. The dead, according to them, were called on to give a rigid account of the acts of their whole lives, before the tribunal of Osiris. The good and the evil genius are represented as accusing and defending the departed soul. The place

Herodotus, illustrated from the recent hieroglyphic and Assyrian researches by Sir J. G. Wilkinson and Sir H. Rawlinson, p. 340, vol. ii. Murray. London, 1858.

Again, Sir G. Wilkinson says, "With regard to the age of Menes (the first king of Egypt), and the chronology of the Egyptian kings, all is of course very uncertain. No era is given by the monuments, which merely record some events that happened under particular kings; and any calculation based on the duration of their reigns given by Manetho, must be even more uncertain than that of genealogies."—*Ibid.*, p. 341. See Appendix, note A.

of eternal reprobation is called "Amenthis," that of eternal bliss is named "The fields of the sun."

Like the Hindoos, this people were firm believers in the transmigration of the soul—a doctrine which was but a gross disfigurement of the primitive dogma of its purgation in a future life. To avert the dreaded fate of this metempsychosis, the body was most carefully embalmed. Perhaps also, as an eminent Catholic writer has conjectured, the idea of the body's future resurrection had no little influence on this practice of embalming the dead.

Before I pass to consider the idolatry of the Egyptians, I beg leave to premise a few general remarks.

The first men loved to express their ideas in symbols, for their science was more intuitive than ratiocinative. God and nature—mind and matter—the universe and its component parts—the world of men and the world of brutes—were (as far as the limits of human reason would permit) contemplated by them in their inward essence, and in their due relations and due subordination. The visible and the invisible world, theology and civil history, astronomy and physics, were all included in one vast synthesis. This was, of course, no longer the bright intuition of the first man in his state of original justice; for sin had troubled the glorious harmony of his soul; yet was it a remnant of that pristine vision. But when man had sunk more and more under the dominion of nature—when the mists of irregular passion had more and more clouded his understanding—when the Evil One, bent on his destruction, and finding a too ready ally in his corrupt heart, had thickened those

mists of ignorance and passion,—then the meaning of those ancient symbols was gradually lost. Even in the Mysteries, where among the heathen a purer doctrine was retained, those emblems became more and more unintelligible. So when some mythographers tell us that the religion of the Pagans was purely astronomical, others that it was purely physical, others, again, that it was purely historical, others, in fine, that it was but a corruption of primitive religion, they appear to me to be partially right and partially wrong; for all these things were included as parts in that synthetic science of the first man, which heathenism had corrupted.

But if the initiated, in course of time, misapprehended these symbols, how much more did the vulgar take them in the grossest and most material sense!

The divine triad—Kneph, Phtha, and Neith,—distorted from its original meaning, was made to signify the procreative and the generative powers of Nature, and their fruit. These were the divinities of the first order, with which the twelve of the second were in close connection, for they were regarded as their children. The third order of divinities was in genealogical union with the second—for Osiris and Isis, with their son Horus, descend from a couple of the second order, Kronos and Rhea.

Osiris and Isis engender Horus. The two former perform the functions of the Greek Thesmophoroi, or divine lawgivers. They discover wheat and barley, invent the instruments for ploughing, teach agriculture on the banks of the Nile, institute religious worship, marriage, and civil laws, and diffuse those blessings, not by

force of arms, but by the charms of poetry and music.

Typhon is the evil principle that slays Osiris, and casts his body into the river Nile. Isis mourns her lord, finds his corpse again, which is brought back by the stream; but Typhon cuts up the body, so found, into fourteen parts. Isis discovers them again, and her son Horus, like a renovated Osiris, avenges his father, and drives Typhon back into the wilderness. This myth is supposed to symbolize, besides the struggle between good and evil, the annual course of the sun, and the periodic inundation and ebb of the Nile.

I shall conclude this part of my subject with the following judicious observations of Dr. Pritchard upon the Egyptian theology:—

“The sum of the Egyptian doctrine,” says he, “on the origin of things, seems to be as follows: There existed from all eternity a self-dependent being, whom they term Cneph or Cnuphis; this name importing a good genius or spirit. From him was produced a finite creation, typified under the form of an egg, which represented the chaotic or unformed state of the world. There also proceeded at the same time from Cneph, a masculine-feminine principle, which animated the chaotic mass, and reduced its elements into organized forms. This being, in the masculine character, is Phthas or Vulcan; in the female Neith or Minerva.

“We thus find that the Egyptians, though they worshipped the elements of Nature, were not altogether without some idea of a first cause, by whose agency the present universe was called into existence; that they regarded the primitive deity as an eternal, intellectual, and spiritual being.

"At the same time it must be allowed, that even in their account of the origin of the universe, and the operations of the Creator, the Egyptians were not free from the weakness and imperfection that lies at the foundation of Paganism : we find even here a mixture of sensual images borrowed from the material world. The masculo-feminine being produced by Cnuphis, to whom the subsequent development of the world in the way of generation is attributed, is a striking instance of this description."—(Pritchard, *Analysis of Egyptian Mythology*, pp. 174-5.)

Now as to the sources of our information on the Egyptian religion, it is to be observed that the sacred books which pass under the name of *Hermes Trismegistus* are spurious productions—the work of some Neo-Platonists of the third and fourth centuries of our era. Yet, as the illustrious Görres conjectures with much probability, those spurious writings embody much of the religious doctrines, and traditions, and philosophic opinions contained in the sacred books whose name they assume, and which we can no longer discover.

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

Let us now turn to the political institutions of Egypt. The power of the Egyptian kings was tempered and restrained by the rights of the sacerdotal caste, and by the influence of the warriors. Without the advice and co-operation of the former they could not exercise any act of authority. Their hours for rising, for devotion, for the transaction of public business were all rigidly prescribed. They were generally taken from the military caste; but prior to entering

upon their regal functions, they received a sort of priestly initiation. They bore the title of Son of the Sun, and wore the tiara of Osiris; and as their statues were placed among those of the gods, they were sometimes confounded with the divinity.

Their revenues they derived from the farming out of their lands, from the gold-mines in Nubia, from the fisheries, and from the tributes of subject nations.

They ruled the land through governors, and they dispensed justice through the priests. From time to time they convoked meetings of these governors, to deliberate upon public affairs; and it is thought by some to be not improbable that the famous Labyrinth, consisting of six thousand halls (three thousand above ground, and three thousand under ground), and which Herodotus considered the greatest wonder in this land of marvels, was allotted to the use of these assemblies. Every morning a priest read to the king a sort of homily on the duties of his station. On his demise, before he could attain to the honours of royal sepulture, his whole life was subjected to a severe scrutiny.

The monarchy was usually hereditary, though the forms were elective. The priests and the warriors chose the monarch, and the people ratified the choice. The eldest son of the last sovereign, and in default of issue, his next of kin was almost always elected. Here the constitution bore no little resemblance to that of the old Germanic empire, as it subsisted down to the beginning of the present century.

The priesthood was hereditary from father to son, and was constituted into a hierarchy, subject

to a head or high priest, and divided into various members, each with its several functions and occupations. The chief seats of the sacerdotal caste were Thebes, Memphis, Heliopolis, and Sais. To each of these was an independent hierarchy attached, with its high-priest, its seers, its astrologers, its scribes and inferior ministers. The priests were also in exclusive possession of all the learned professions: they were the judges, the physicians, the artists, the historiographers of the land.

In his description of the Isiac procession, St. Clemens Alexandrinus gives the following interesting account of the orders of this hierarchy:—

“The Egyptians,” says he, “have their own peculiar philosophy. This is evidenced by their sacred ceremonies and processions. First proceeds the cantor, bearing one of the symbols of music. They say that he ought to bear two of the books of Hermes, one whereof contains the hymns to the gods, the other the rule for a kingly life. After the cantor comes the astrologer, who carries in his hands the horoscope and the palm, the emblems of astrology. He must always have on his lips the four books of Hermes which treat of astrology. One of these is on the course of the stars that appear fixed, and on the conjunction of the sun and moon, the rest on their rise. Then comes the hierogrammateus, or sacred scribe, having pens stuck on his head, and a book and ink for writing, and a reed wherewith to write. It behoves him to understand the hieroglyphics, and the description of the world, and geography, and the course of the sun and moon, and of the five planets, and the chorography of Egypt, and

the description of the Nile, and to understand all the instruments and ornaments used in the sacred rites, as well as the places allotted for these. Then, after these, comes he who is called the stolistes, having the measure of justice and the chalice of libations. He understands all those things which are called Παιδευτικά, that is, relating to religious discipline, and the marking out and sealing of the sacrificial victims."—(Stromata, lib. vi. c. 4.)

So far St. Clemens Alexandrinus.

The priests were bound to a life of greater moral purity; they were obliged to abstain from certain vegetables, from fish, from swine-flesh (except on certain occasions, when swine were offered to Osiris); and on them exclusively was imposed the obligation of monogamy. They were also bound to attend to bodily cleanliness, to practise ablutions, to shave their heads, and to go about clad in a pure white linen tunic, and with sandals of papyrus.

I must here observe that the *tumah*, or defilement, imparted by certain animals which I just adverted to, and which constitutes so important a feature in the Mosaic legislation, was not unknown to some other ancient nations, and probably was a remnant of primitive religion. The reasons of this mysterious law are traceable partly to physical, partly to moral causes; others seem to elude the grasp of inquiry, and prove, I think, that deep intuition into nature, and especially the animal world, which the first men possessed, and which we have lost.

One-third of the lands of Egypt was assigned to the maintenance of religious worship, and the support of the priesthood. These lands were farmed out, and were exempt from taxes.

I come now to the warrior caste.

The warrior caste held the second rank in the Egyptian constitution. They were divided into the Hermotybies and the Calasiries; the former consisting of a hundred and sixty thousand men, the latter of two hundred and fifty thousand. To these troops portions of land were allotted, free from taxation. These warriors were settled on the different frontiers of Egypt, to defend her territory against the incursions of foreign foes. Thus, as we are told by Herodotus, they were quartered at Daphnæ Pelusiæ as a bulwark against the Arabs; at Elephantine against the Ethiopians; and at Marea against the Libyans.* The same plan was followed by the Hindoos, who, on the north-western frontier of India, her most open and vulnerable quarter, stationed large divisions of their war-caste, which, if we remember, offered to Alexander the Great so energetic a resistance.

There was no cavalry in the Egyptian army, composed as it was entirely of foot-soldiers, consisting of archers and other heavy-armed troops. War-chariots were used by the generals. "A thousand of the Calasiries, and as many of the Hermotybies," says Herodotus, "each served a year in the king's body-guard." To these, besides their usual allotment of acres, some extraordinary allowances were made.

As to the inferior castes, these consisted of the retail dealers, the handicraftsmen, the fishermen, and the boatmen of the Nile, to whom were added, after the reign of Psammetichus, the interpreters, a mongrel race composed of the offspring of

* Herodotus, xi. c. 30.

Greeks and Egyptians. The swineherds were held in nearly the same abhorrence as in India the Pariahs have ever been. All contact with them entailed defilement ; they were shut out from all intercourse with the other classes, and even from service in the temple.

THE SYSTEM OF CASTES.

This seems the fitting place to say a few words on the system of castes, as compared with other forms of polity in the ancient and the modern world. Let us consider its advantages and its disadvantages. In the first place, the power of the monarch was attempered and restrained by the prerogatives of the priesthood and the influence of the warriors ; the inferior castes had their sphere of limited, indeed, but still ascertained rights ; and hence that confusion of all principles—that annihilation of all individual liberty, which the modern Mussulman state exhibits, was not possible in the Egyptian monarchy. In Islam the two great checks on regal despotism are wanting—an hereditary nobility and a sacerdotal corporation. Hence its political history presents, in hideous alternation, lawless tyranny and anarchic violence.

But if to the modern Mahometan despotism the caste system be thus far superior, it has, contrasted even with the better institutions of the ancient nations of the West, the advantage of greater solidity and permanence. I must here observe that this system, in its first principle, hath its root in the intellectual, moral, and social inequality of men, corrupted and degraded as they have been by the Fall. In this first rudimental

form, it probably existed (as we may more than infer from a remarkable passage in Plato), in the earliest times of Greece. The mild, paternal rule of her princes, however, in the heroic ages—the wise, temperate government of her aristocracies in the period immediately following the abolition of royalty, were far superior, as regards order and freedom, to the government of any Indian Rajah, or Egyptian Pharoah. But the innate weakness of these Grecian politics became in time apparent. The aristocracy that had overturned royalty was in turn forced to give way to a democratic government, which, when its violence had become intolerable, was overthrown by a tyrannis. This, too, when the measure of its iniquity was full, was upset by an oligarchy, that soon becoming odious to the people, shared in its turn the fate of preceding governments; till at last, amid the strife of corrupt, and enervated, and exhausted factions, freedom sank under a foreign yoke, or was for ever crushed by a domestic despotism. Such is the history of the Greek Republics.

If we now look to the disadvantages of the system of castes, we shall find that though possessing greater elements of durability, yet, by keeping the several classes in a state of unnatural separation, it disjoins society, if I may so speak, and sooner or later brings those classes into collision. Such a conflict is evidenced in the bloody contests carried on between the priestly and the military castes in India as well as Egypt. And the disjointing of society, which I just now adverted to, is exemplified in the emigration to Æthiopia of almost the whole Egyptian war-caste, that from some cause of discontent in the reign of Psammetichus, abandoned their country, and left

it henceforth entirely dependent on the aid of Greek mercenaries.

This system has the still greater defect of begetting in the higher orders of society a contempt for the inferior, of discouraging all social intercourse between the upper and the lower ranks, and of effectually preventing the moral and political amelioration of the latter. It must, however, be owned, that, with the exception of the outcasts, slavery appears in a more odious and repulsive form in the classical states than in the Oriental monarchies.

Then this caste system, by preventing the rise of the middle classes, keeps the sacerdotal and the war castes in a state of unwholesome stagnation, political as well as intellectual. By rendering all pursuits and occupations hereditary, it interferes with the freedom of personal choice and inclination, introduces in course of time a sort of mechanical uniformity into all the productions of mind; and if it promote superior dexterity in certain manual arts, it effectually cramps the aspirations of genius in all high intellectual pursuits.

The great excellence which Egypt attained to in art and science during the early period of her monarchy, was not the result of the system of castes, but of that heritage of knowledge which, in common with other ancient countries, she had derived from the primitive world. But on the other hand, the stationary character of her art, and especially science, during the thousand years that intervened between Sesostris and the Persian invasion, proves the baneful influence of this system on the human mind.

Thus, then, to sum up the results of the comparison I have instituted—the constitution of castes tended to keep all the elements of social

and intellectual life in a state of barren isolation, and stagnant torpor; the system of the Greek and Roman governments held them in a state of fierce and perpetual collision, which terminated in their destruction; while the Mussulman state, in its spirit of false unity, strives to confound, and, if possible, to annihilate their existence.

How vastly superior to all these forms of polity is the Christian monarchy! There we find a mild, paternal royalty, holding together with undisputed sway the various members of the social body—a chivalrous, free-spirited nobility, rooted in the soil, and intertwined with the most glorious recollections of their country—representing the principle of nationality, as the priesthood represents that of universal humanity—a stirring, energetic middle class, which perpetually renovates that nobility; a happy, contented peasantry, to whom the very idea of slavery is unknown; and a pure, beneficent, enlightened priesthood, not the apanage of certain families, as in ancient Greece, not an hereditary corporation, as in India, Persia, and Egypt, but called by Divine election out of all classes, uniting those classes by the twofold tie of spiritual influence and social position, and promoting their moral improvement and mental culture. So all those elements of social and intellectual life, that in one system are isolated, in another are brought into perpetual antagonism, in another are attempted to be confounded, are here, as far as human infirmity permits, blended, and harmonized, and brought into the most salutary co-operation.

I shall now pass on to contemplate the state of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce among this people, and then examine the degree of excellence which the fine arts and the sciences had attained to among them.

THE AGRICULTURE OF EGYPT.

Such was the extraordinary fertility of Egypt, produced by the rich slime which the recurring inundations of the Nile deposited on its soil, that in most years it produced two harvests, and that many of the wonted labours of agriculture might have easily been dispensed with. That land abounded in the finest cereals, wheat, barley, rye, and oats, which were of such excellent quality, and attained to such luxuriant growth, that they not only supplied the wants of the large native population, but proved an article of very considerable exportation to foreign countries. Indeed, from the earliest times down to the latest period of Roman domination, Egypt was the granary to many a land near and remote.

Vegetables and fruits were most abundant, and of the most exquisite flavour. Rice, cotton, linen, and hemp were cultivated to a great extent.

Although, as I before said, the soil scarcely needed the labour of man for the production of its fruits, yet we see on the monuments of ancient Egypt pictorial representations of many processes of husbandry, such as ploughing, raking, hoeing, and the rest, which might be well deemed superfluous.

Nor was the soil less propitious to pasturage than to tillage. Cattle of the most various kinds, and of the most vigorous growth, were bred in Egypt. Oxen, sheep, goats, horses, mules, asses, and many species of poultry there abounded, and were destined, in part for sacrificial worship, in part for domestic and public uses. "The breed of horses," says Professor Heeren, "was so con-

siderable that a trade with foreign countries was carried on in them. Solomon obtained the steeds for his numerous *cavalry from Egypt*."—(2 Chr. ix. 2.)*

MANUFACTURES AND COMMERCE OF EGYPT.

In the useful arts that country was not less distinguished. However unfavourable to the free expansion of genius in higher art the system of castes may be, it is on all hands admitted that in the processes of mechanic industry it is conducive to perfection. The example of India as well as of Egypt will bear out the truth of this assertion. In the latter country, weaving, dyeing, joinery, smithcraft, jewellery, and every species of solid and elegant manufacture, were brought to the highest perfection. To give but one example, instead of the Roman triclinium, the ancient Egyptians used at their repasts chairs and sofas, and these, as we see by the monuments, were wrought with a skill and delicacy of execution that might challenge a comparison with those of modern Europe. Furniture, consisting of costly foreign woods, gilded ornaments, works inlaid with ivory, carpets of the most resplendent dye, and vases of the most exquisite workmanship, adorned the habitations of the rich. The process and results of these various manufactures are vividly represented on the walls of the still standing palaces and tombs of this ancient land. Lower Egypt was more particularly the seat of manufacturing industry as well as of agriculture; while the Upper was more specially devoted to the cares of husbandry.

* Heeren's Commerce of Ancient Nations.

But the commerce of Egypt was scarcely less flourishing than her agriculture and her manufactures. A circumstance which, as has been justly observed, has led many to suppose that Egypt was entirely shut up within herself, excluded from a commercial intercourse with other nations, was, that her trade was mostly overland, and therefore less obvious to attention, and less striking to the eye. From a very early period, numerous caravans brought from the remote shores of Abyssinia the products of India and Arabia, the pearls, diamonds, pepper, and cinnamon of one country, and the nard, cassia, balsam, and frankincense of the other, and poured them into the lap of Thebes. Another set of caravans, leaving the banks of the Niger, traversed the fearful, boundless desert tracts of Sahara, deposited a portion of their commodities in Fezzan, to be conveyed to the Punic cities on the northern coast of Africa, and then passing through the oasis of Jupiter Ammon, terminated their course in Thebes, whither they brought their treasures of gold-dust, ivory, ebony, and black slaves. What an accumulation of riches! what importance, splendour, and variety in the articles of merchandise! and what a vast intercourse among nations doth not all this trade presuppose! Nor was this all. Other caravans proceeded from Thebes or from Memphis, across the isthmus of Suez; conveying the corn and the cotton tissues of Egypt, as well as the products of India, Arabia, and of central Africa, already enumerated, to the Phœnician and Syrian cities; traversed the desert of Syria; crossed the Euphrates at Circesium, and then followed that stream down to Babylon. In this vast capital was the confluence

of all the treasures of western and eastern commerce. There the goods brought from Phœnicia were exchanged for the rich manufactures of Babylon, and for the productions, natural and artificial, of Persia and the contiguous eastern lands of northern India, and even, in all probability, of China itself.

It is fitting, however, to observe that the Egyptians themselves did not take an active part in this caravan trade. The conductors of the caravans from the city of Meroe were chiefly taken from those rude nomadic tribes that inhabited the rocky districts eastward of the Nile, and among whom Cambyses, before he took his disastrous expedition into Ethiopia, sought out his interpreters. The guides of the caravans that reached Egypt from the interior of Africa were mostly inhabitants of Phasania, or the modern Fezzan, and the other oases in the Libyan desert. This vast inland trade of Egypt, which I have shortly described, was greatly facilitated and enhanced by the proximity of rich gold-mines in the contiguous Nubia—mines which so abundantly furnished the metal that constitutes the standard of values, and the most convenient medium of exchange.

Though, like the Hindoos, averse to maritime commerce, the Egyptians loved to navigate their own Nile, branching off, as it did, into such a variety of arms and canals. On this river a very active trade was carried on between the various districts and cities of the kingdom. Indeed, a large portion of the inhabitants, whether as boatmen or as fishermen, lived on the water; and on the great festivals the whole population seemed to pour itself out upon the stream.

In the last age of the Pharaonic monarchy greater extension was given to foreign trade : Psammetichus opened some ports of the Delta to Phœnician and Greek merchants ; in Memphis there was, in the time of Herodotus, a factory named the Tyrian camp ; and the successor of Psammetichus, Amasis, built for the Greek merchants the city of Naucratis, with a temple for the solemnization of Greek rites, called the Hellenion.

It is singular that a nation so far advanced in art as the Egyptians, and in the possession of so extensive and lucrative a trade, should have had no coinage. This was unknown to them till the period of the Persian rule, when Darius Hystaspis introduced into Egypt, as into other parts of his dominions, his golden Darics.

THE FINE ARTS IN EGYPT.

The last-mentioned topic naturally leads me to the consideration of Egyptian Art. It was here, especially as regards painting and sculpture, the baneful influence of the system of castes was most conspicuous. A particular type for the face, figure, dress, and attitude of the different deities, pontiffs, and kings, was rigidly prescribed to the artist. Little scope was left to the play of fancy, or to the combinations of genius, or the spontaneous efforts of individual mind or character. But a stiff, traditionary model, transmitted from age to age, by rendering improvement difficult, effectually cramped the flights of imagination.

In Christian Art, it is true, a few conventional types in regard to certain sacred personages have been adhered to. Yet such types have not been found incompatible with the greatest variety of

combination—the greatest originality of conception—the utmost vigour and boldness of delineation.

In profane paintings, such as battle-pieces, where the genius of the Egyptian artist was not so tied down to a set model, there was much greater life, truthfulness, and freedom of representation. The French artists who accompanied Buonaparte into Egypt, and who had been brought up in an almost idolatrous worship of Greek Art, were astonished at the life and vigour exhibited in these paintings.

In the delineation of animals the Egyptian artists were eminently successful. Whether it were that here the conventional types were less rigidly enforced; or, that by their religious worship this people had been led to study more attentively the aspect and the habits of the inferior creation,—certain it is, that their representations of the brute, in sculpture as well as in painting, were distinguished for uncommon force and spirit. This fact did not escape the delicate perception of the author of “*Corinne*.” “The Egyptian sculptors,” says Madame de Staël, “represented the aspect of animals with much more genius than they did that of men.”* And her master, Augustus William Von Schlegel, observes, that the Egyptian lions in basalt, which he had seen at Rome, realized with admirable truth the majestic repose of the *couchant* lord of the desert, as described by Dante:—

“In guisa di Leon, quando riposa.”

The same consummate critic remarks, that from the excessive glare of light in Egypt, the use of white stone or marble in sculpture would have

* *Corinne*, tom. i. p. 127.

been painful to the eye, and that the adoption of dark and green-coloured stones by the artists of that country was extremely judicious.

In painting, the Egyptians were unacquainted with perspective, and they could give but the profile of the human face. Hence, in their representations of human figures, as well as of landscape and scenery, there was a certain deadness and stiffness which all the richness and brilliancy of colouring, that after thousands of years has retained its freshness, and all the skilful drawing of particular parts, have not been able to retrieve.

What shall I say of the Egyptian architecture, where we see blended all the qualities of massiveness, solidity, grandeur, and richness of decoration? What shall I say of those magnificent temples and palaces, with their vast porticos, their many halls, opening one upon the other—with their rows of huge pillars, some running seventy feet in height and ten in diameter—with their high decorated obelisks—with the colossal sphinxes that bordered on each side the avenues to the temple, denoting that life was an enigma, which could find its solution in religion only? What shall I say of those vast pyramids, constructed at once with such boldness and such precision, and which in their towering majesty seem to defy time itself? What shall I say of those immense Necropoleis, or Cities of the Dead, where the same care and labour were employed to embellish death, as other nations have bestowed on the adornment of life? Such an architecture could have sprung up only among a people filled with the idea of immortality, and in whose eyes earthly existence was but a fleeting passage to a future life.

SCIENCE OF THE EGYPTIANS.

Let us now pass to the science of this nation.

They were especially skilled in the mathematical sciences, in astronomy, in chemistry, in medicine. The nature of their country and the periodic overflow of the Nile forced upon them, as it were, the study of geometry and mensuration ; while their cloudless heavens invited them to the contemplation of the stars, and of the laws that govern them. The practice of embalming the dead may also have led to a more careful inquiry into the organization of the human body, as well as into the action of mineral and vegetable substances upon its life. The dietetic course pursued by this people for the maintenance of health and the prevention of maladies was most excellent. On the other hand, the progress of medical science was retarded by the hereditary formulas handed down from father to son, and from which the physician in the treatment of diseases was not allowed to depart.

Here I shall take the liberty of citing a remarkable passage from a great living Italian historian, and I trust that its great depth and beauty will plead a sufficient apology for its length :—

“ Science (says he) will never be useful to all, nor truly progressive, so long as it remains the privilege and the secret of any corporation whatsoever. Now, among ancient nations it was reserved for priests alone, and even among these it was not universally spread. But whence did these priests derive this science themselves? It is a subject of marvel to behold how, in the very dawn of history, the human race is found endowed with

so much knowledge. In their very infancy mankind can cultivate the earth by the aid of divers instruments; they have brought the animals under subjection; they bake bread and press wine and oil; they weave, they sew, and they embroider; they manufacture glass, fish up the coral, draw the metals from the earth, and cut the diamond. Statuary, architecture, music, dancing, the casting of metals, weights, measures, coins, seals, chronology, arithmetic, writing, are recorded as existing things in the most ancient traditions of nations. Religious worship, laws, tribunals, contracts, penalties for crimes, we find already in existence from the remotest period.

“But there is something still more astonishing; man possesses, in the very outset of his existence, knowledge, which may be called purely speculative, to which he was not urged by want, and which demanded the observations of centuries, instruments of a certain degree of delicacy, and an exactness of calculation. The apparent daily movement of the stars, the circular shadow projected on the moon in eclipses, the convex surface of the sea, might have given man an idea of the roundness of the earth; but how did he divine the dimensions of our planet? And yet they formed the basis of the metrical systems of Egypt and of Asia. The period of nineteen years, preserved even to this day under the name of the Golden Number, was adopted by the Egyptians; that of sixty years was common to all Asiatics; that of six hundred years was employed by the Chaldeans. The sphere, the sundial, the division of the time into weeks, the solar and the lunar eclipse, the eccentric course of comets,—all these facts in physical science were known to the

Egyptians, who, though among other things not possessed of the telescope, knew that the milky way was but a vast congeries of stars. Each of the four sides of the great Egyptian Pyramid was perfectly well set towards one of the cardinal points.

“When we see a child of ten know not only how to clothe himself and avoid all bodily dangers, but translate into articulate sounds his own ideas, transmit them by language, fix them by writing, by decomposing all human science into twenty-four letters, ten ciphers, and seven musical notes, we are compelled to believe that that child had been instructed by some one acquainted with those things, and that his knowledge came from tradition. So in respect to the science of the primitive nations, no other conclusions appear to us possible. To suppose with Bailly and Romagnosi, that this knowledge was transmitted by a nation still more ancient, is only to put off the difficulty. It is, on the contrary, our belief that this science was a remnant of that of the first men, enlightened by the vision of God; and we shall give up that opinion only when another more reasonable is proposed in its stead. One thing which confirms us in our view is to see that the primitive science we speak of is not developed by degrees, nor by successive conquests; on the contrary, it possesses from the very first admirable formulas; but, so far from improving on them in the course of time, it even errs in their application.” *

The science of the Egyptians was like their

* *Histoire Universelle*, par Cantu, traduite de l'Italien, tom. i. p. 188-189.

system of castes, which was favourable to stability, but was adverse to progress—where truth in one case, as right in the other, was better insured against endless change and wicked and absurd caprice. A mass of truths, in morals and physics, greater than we discern in the Greek philosophy, lie on the surface of Egyptian science; but as the element of spontaneity, though not extinct, was here dull and feeble, those truths were but inadequately comprehended, and never carried out to their legitimate bearings. In that Oriental philosophy the stock of doctrines, indeed, was more abundant. On the other hand, the Greek philosophy, though, as being further removed from primitive religion and primitive science, it were more scantily provided with such doctrines, yet possessed a more active principle of production and spontaneous origination. In one case a valuable hereditary estate was carelessly cultivated; in the other, a comparatively barren tract was tilled with much diligence.*

Egyptian science shows less evidence of progress than Egyptian art. For in the latter we discern something like gradual improvement, from the earliest known period down to the nineteenth dynasty, under whose sway the national arts seem to have reached their highest degree of maturity. These ancient nations, blessed as they had been with the heritage, however mutilated, of primeval science, could not much enlarge the domain of physical truths, precisely because at an early period in their history they had fallen under the dominion of Nature herself. To apprehend the laws of Nature we must rise above Nature; that

* See Appendix, note B.

is to say, we must understand her relations to God and to man. This is the reason why no Heathen people, not even the lively and penetrative Greeks, could attain to the true mastery of physical science. Superstition cast a veil over the object of her worship, and feared to examine too closely and handle too familiarly the divinity in its niche.

Mathematics, astronomy, chemistry, and medicine, coupled with astrology and magic, seem to have been the favourite pursuits of the Egyptians. I doubt not that further progress in hieroglyphical literature will tend to confirm the opinions expressed by a great writer*—that of those two nations, the Egyptians and the Hindoos, so nearly resembling each other in their religious and political institutions, the former were more distinguished for the cultivation of science, the latter for their poetic productions and metaphysical speculations. Something of the same contrast, which this illustrious writer points out between these two ancient nations, was observable, in the later Mussulman world, between the Persians and the Arabs: for while the former (as an eminent English Catholic divine,† well known and dear to us all, has recently observed) were remarkable for their love and cultivation of poetry, the latter pursued with ardour the study of mathematics, astronomy, and medicine.

It is in the latter sciences the Greeks proclaim the proficiency of the Egyptians. Nothing, after the wisdom of their laws, so much elicits their applause. If Lycurgus and Solon visited the

* F. Schlegel.

† Vid. Newman's Turks.

land of Nile, to study her wise institutions—if Hecataeus and Herodotus, animated with the spirit of a liberal curiosity, explored her cities and provinces—Thales, and Pythagoras, and Democritus, and Eudoxus are expressly recorded to have thence derived much mathematical and physical knowledge. The last-named mathematician, Eudoxus, passed, with his illustrious friend Plato, thirteen years in the sacerdotal college of Heliopolis. And Strabo even adds (though he assigns no ground for the assertion), that the Egyptian priests did not communicate to their two distinguished disciples all the knowledge they possessed.

Were now the Egyptians equally eminent in moral philosophy? I before stated the opinion of the illustrious Görres, that the books fabricated by the Neo-Platonists of the third and fourth century of our era, under the name of Hermes Trismegistus, spurious as they were, yet in all probability embodied many of the doctrines and traditions of those old sacred Egyptian books which have perished, and whose name they assumed. Now the titles and purport of many of these spurious writings are moral and metaphysical. Our progress in hieroglyphical literature is too inconsiderable to enable us to answer the question I have just proposed, as to the degree of eminence this people had attained to in metaphysical philosophy. The inscriptions on some of their temples, and the sayings of their priests, as recorded by Greek writers, denote the prevalence of that deep moral wisdom, which all antiquity attributed to them. Again, we can hardly suppose that the great Plato, whose whole life was devoted to the investigation of metaphysical, moral, and political truths, should have

given up thirteen long years to an exclusive study of mathematics and physics.

This seems the place to speak of the writing of the Egyptians. They had three species of writing—the hieroglyphic, the hieratic, and the demotic. The hieroglyphic was a writing partly figurative, partly phonetic, destined chiefly for monumental inscriptions. The hieratic was formed out of the hieroglyphic writing, and was used exclusively by the priests. The demotic was formed from the hieroglyphics through the hieratic, which was a sort of abbreviated hieroglyphic. The demotic writing was in general use among all classes, and seems to have sprung up only in the later ages of the monarchy.

LANGUAGE OF THE EGYPTIANS.

“In the formation of their written language,” says Sir G. Wilkinson, “the Egyptians began with what is the oldest form of writing—representational signs. The alphabetic system was a later invention, which grew out of picture-writing; for, as drawing is older than writing, so picture-writing is older than alphabetic characters, and as Baron justly observes, ‘hieroglyphics preceded letters.’ But the Egyptians, in their representational signs, did not confine themselves to the simple delineation of the object, merely in order to signify itself; this would not have given them a *written language*; they went further, and represented ideas also; for two legs not only signified what they represented, but implied the notion of ‘walking,’ or ‘motion;’ and the former meaning might be pointed out by a particular mark, which showed that the object was to be taken in a posi-

tive sense ; and a bull signified ' strong,' but when followed by a half-circle and a line, it read simply a bull.

"The plural number was marked by the same object thrice repeated."—(Wilkinson's App. to Rawlinson's Translation of Herodotus, vol. ii. p. 313.)

The hieroglyphic writing is, I said, partly figurative, partly phonetic. Thus the sign of a bull represents a bull ; but with a certain mark it represents strength. The sign of an animal may have also a mere conventional signification.

Such a sign also frequently signifies the initial letter of the word. Thus, the figure of an owl is put for the letter M, because the Egyptian word for owl (*Mounck*) begins with the letter M. Here the sign is used phonetically. Sometimes, again, both the alphabetic and the representational signs will be used to express the idea. Thus the alphabetic sign for *hthor* (a horse) will be followed by the figure of that animal. The last is called the *determinative* sign. Here we see a sort of fluctuation between figurative and phonetic writing. The same thing exists in the Assyrian writing, with this difference only, that the figure of the animal would in this case precede and not follow the alphabetic sign.

The inscriptions on the mummies and the sarcophagi, as far as they can be deciphered, contain certain forms of prayer, and certain biographical notices relative to the deceased. The inscriptions on the walls of temples and palaces, and round the pictures and statues of gods and kings, have, like those found in the excavated ruins of Assyria, an historical character. Some fragments of hymns have also been deciphered. We know from an

interesting passage already cited from St. Clemens Alexandrinus that the cantor in the sacred procession bore that book of Hermes, which contained the hymns to the gods. Whether this people possessed epic and dramatic poems is a secret reserved for future investigation. From the number of Egyptian papyri now collected in the museums of Europe, and from the zeal and skill now shown in deciphering them, light must ere long be thrown on this obscure subject. It is known that the Chinese, a nation of the remotest antiquity, which was among the most civilized of Asiatic peoples, which had made the greatest progress in the cultivation of the useful arts, had produced very distinguished philosophers, and possessed sacred books remarkable for the purity of their doctrine, as well as their philosophical depth—the Chinese, I say, have no great epic and dramatic productions, but merely lyrical poetry and novels of real life. It may have been so with the Egyptians. The march of humanity is so various that we must not expect to meet everywhere with the same phenomena. It is, indeed, subject to certain great fundamental laws, to certain general types of being; but in that unity, what a wondrous variety do we find!

Such is the land of marvel I have attempted feebly to describe. The ancients said that at early dawn there was wont to issue from the colossal statue of the Theban Memnon a strange mysterious sound. So, fifty years ago, in the dawn of Christian philosophy, after the long night of irreligion that for a century had overspread Europe, a strange, mysterious, half-articulate sound, seeming to corroborate the oracles of God, came forth from the ruined temples and palaces of Egypt.

That sound we must now endeavour better to comprehend—we must listen attentively for its repetition, for, believe me, it was not uttered without a deep significancy, and a high design.*

* In the composition of this Lecture I have consulted, besides the works enumerated on a former occasion, the second volume of the new translation of Herodotus, by George Rawlinson, Esq., M.A., with annotations by Sir J. G. Wilkinson and Col. Sir Henry Rawlinson. London. Murray, 1858.

2. The History of Antiquity by M. Duncker, vol. i. (in German). Berlin, 1852.

3. The History of Commerce, by Scherer (in German). 1852.

MODERN HISTORY.

M

LECTURE V.

THEORY OF THE CHRISTIAN MONARCHY.—THE
ANCIENT POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS OF SPAIN.—
THE ABSOLUTISM INTRODUCED BY FERDINAND
THE CATHOLIC AND CHARLES V., AND CONSUM-
MATED BY PHILIP II.

PART I.

I HAD first intended merely to give the constitutional history of Spain from the period of transition, which marks the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic, and bring it down to the extinction of the Austrian dynasty at the close of the seventeenth century. According to this first plan, I should have taken for granted the excellence of the constitution of the Three Estates, and resting on this premiss, have ascribed the political decline of Spain chiefly to the overthrow of her ancient institutions. But, on reflection, I found I should have had to encounter various kinds of adversaries ready to dispute the truth of this proposition. For there are some, like the new school of Absolutists, headed by a French journalist of considerable zeal and talent, who consider Absolutism an improvement on the old temperate Monarchy; others, again, who confound the latter with the modern constitutional governments, which are more or less revolutionary; and others, also, who

hold all political forms to be in themselves matters of indifference—a proposition which, taken in the latitude here meant, is most absurd and dangerous. Against all these adversaries it was necessary to give a rationale of the old temperate monarchy; to show its reasonableness, its internal fitness, its utility, its adaptation to human wants.

The present lecture being the first of a series which in the next session I propose to deliver on the history of Spain, Portugal, and France, the principles here laid down will serve to guide us in future inquiries.

The first part of this lecture, therefore, will be didactic; the remainder, historical; and I fear I perhaps owe you an apology for introducing this abstract dissertation.

ANALOGIES BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE.

There must have been something singularly consonant to the Catholic Church in the constitution of the Three Estates, since in every great European country during the Middle Ages, and in many states afterwards, we find that form of polity established. In the first place, this fact is doubtless ascribable to the spirit of equity which characterizes the Church—a spirit that aims at satisfying all rights, and conciliating all interests.

Secondly, there has always existed the closest connection between the religious and the political institutions of states; and the old oriental nations even regarded their political organization as a reflex of their celestial hierarchy. It cannot be denied that the elements of monarchy, aristocracy, and even democracy exist in the divine constitution of the Catholic Church. The Papacy and the

Episcopate fully represent the two first-named elements; but the democratic element is represented by the inferior clergy, which, in the diocesan synod (corresponding as it does to the civil municipality), exercises so large an influence. Again, in the general council, although the second order of the priesthood has not a deliberative voice, it is still frequently consulted; and the doctors of theology and canon law, as advisers, there play a most important part. The rights and the duties of the Popedom, the Episcopate, and the Presbytery, are laid down and defined in the canon law with the utmost fulness and precision; and this admirable code of legislation, that has exerted considerable influence even on the civil jurisprudence of Christian nations, would alone suffice to rebut the charge, that the Catholic Church favours arbitrary power. But the analogies between the constitution of the Church and that of the temporal monarchy formed under her influence, must not be pressed too far; and we shall presently see the reason, wherefore the popular element could never be carried to the same extent in the Church as in the State.

Certain analogies must exist between spiritual and civil government. The Christian Catholic Church is the Divine State founded immediately by our Lord and God, directly, for the sanctification and salvation of man, and, indirectly, for the promotion of his temporal happiness. The State is the temporal Church which, as the emanation from, and development of the family, is mediately and indirectly established of God, chiefly for the protection and advancement of man's temporal interests and felicity, but, remotely and indirectly, also for the furthering of his eternal

salvation; for the well-being or the disorders of the State react on the Church.

The two institutions, the one divine, the other only indirectly and remotely so, but both concurring, in different ways, towards man's spiritual and temporal welfare, there must needs be some analogy between them. So much for analogies between Church and State.

Let us now consider the state in its several parts—the monarchical, the aristocratic, and the popular.

THE CHRISTIAN MONARCHY.

Royalty is the emanation of paternity. In history, the evolution of royalty from its first seminal principle is almost palpable. We see the father growing by degrees into the patriarch—the patriarch into the tribe-chieftain—the tribe-chieftain into the king. Some writers apprehend, indeed, that by admitting the patriarchal origin of civil government, they would sanction despotic power. Singular notion, forsooth! as if paternal authority were not regulated by the Divine law, which condemns all tyranny;—as if it were not attempered by the domestic affections, by the sense of duty in the father, by maternal tenderness, by filial piety! As in the family we find the root and the type of monarchic rule; so here, also, we find the model of the temperate, or representative government. Does not the wise and loving father make his sons, according as they grow up to manhood, acquainted with the state of his affairs, lay open to them his accounts, introduce them to his agents, and consult their feelings and wishes as to the management of his property? And does not the harsh, morose parent, who pur-

sues the opposite policy, render his sons averse to business, helpless in the management of their estates, ignorant of men and their ways, the easy dupes of cunning, as well as more open to the allurements of vice? And in characterizing the evil effects of such parental conduct, have I not traced at the same time the history of absolute monarchy? This analogy between the abuses of domestic and political power did not escape the penetration of the illustrious Archbishop of Cambrai, when he was defending, against the arbitrary encroachments of Louis XIV., the ancient constitution of France.

That among all forms of government, the monarchical is entitled to great pre-eminence, is clear from the fact that those institutions which are directly the creation of Heaven, such as the family, and the Jewish and the Christian Churches, possess a monarchical constitution.* Again, Aristotle confesses that monarchy is by far the most ancient and the most widely-diffused of all systems of polity.

But has the republic, whether aristocratic or popular, no root in human nature—no root in the wants and interests of nations? This it would be folly to assert. There are certain conditions and certain phases in human society where this is a natural, and even necessary form of government; and as we shall presently see, the republican element enters largely into the constitution of the Christian monarchy; but never in antiquity, nor in modern times, has the republic been supposed to possess the same sacred character with royalty.

* Even the Gallican Sorbonne, a hundred and fifty years ago, anathematized those who would deny the constitution of the Catholic Church to be monarchical.

Never was it considered the emanation of pater-nity—never doth it become, at least for any considerable time, the cohesive principle of large associations of men—never can it hold together a variety of races, or a great diversity of classes and interests.* The republic always implies a pre-

* The United States of America form no exception to the truth of this remark. North America has had every conceivable advantage for the promotion and development of republican institutions. Her population brave, active, intelligent, enterprising, is mainly formed out of races which, like the German, and more especially the Anglo-Saxon and the Celtic, are among the noblest and most highly-gifted on the earth; forming in this respect a decided contrast with South America, whose free inhabitants, besides a comparatively few creole Spaniards and Portuguese, chiefly consist of Mulattoes, Negroes, and Zamboes. Secondly, the settlers of British America carried with them from their mother country its admirable laws, customs, and institutions, which had time to grow up and expand in the wilderness. Thirdly, the Anglo-Americans had long been trained up in the discipline of Parliamentary institutions. Fourthly, the great men who conducted the American Revolution acted with singular moderation, and introduced few organic changes into their country's institutions. Fifthly, the American Union is not a republic, one and undivided, but a confederacy of states, where in all local matters and concerns the separate legislatures enjoy paramount authority. Sixthly, the institution of slavery, odious and repulsive as it is to the Christian, is still here, as it was in antiquity, conducive to the preservation of a large republic. Seventhly, there is an almost illimitable extent of territory, over which the inhabitants of America may spread, and whereby all the dangers and disorders, moral and political, of an over-crowded population are obviated. Eighthly, with few exceptions, there is no populace in the American cities; and thus the very element for the demagogue is away. Ninthly, the facility for obtaining work, and the high rate of wages, insure quiet and contentment among the labouring classes. Lastly, no powerful rival States have been near to foment disunion, or excite rebellion in

existing polity. For (as on one occasion I defined it in a periodical publication*), the republic is the municipality detached, either by revolution or colonization, from a parent monarchy. By revolution, when the rights of some community or province have been arbitrarily violated by a sovereign, or the colonists have been misled by religious fanaticism, or by false political doctrines;—or by colonization, when a set of adventurers, either dissatisfied with the government at home, or seeking to better their fortunes, meet, without possessing mutual rights or antecedent claims one upon another, in some distant land. Here a government has to be chosen: and where a community is small, and the occupations of the colonists commercial, a division of powers,

the American confederacy, or impede the prosperity, or encroach on the rights of its inhabitants. Yet, with all these advantages, extraneous and interior, the American Union, after a brief existence of seventy years, presents all the symptoms of internal decay. It has been gradually sinking from a republic to an ochlocracy; and so feeble is the tie which now binds the northern and the southern provinces, that the merest accident may snap it asunder. And in proportion as population multiplies, and interests grow more complicated and various, and luxury and refinement augment the diversity of classes, we shall see one state after another detach itself from the confederation, and proclaim its independence. But in America, as in Protestant Europe, the Catholic Church can alone save order and freedom from a general shipwreck. This note was printed a year ago; and the ominous wail as to the future prospects of the American Republic, just uttered by its chief functionary, is surely not calculated to invalidate the remarks then made. (See the late message of the American President.) America, to avoid civil war and anarchy, must either give up two-thirds of her dominions, or renounce her democratic institutions.

* The *Dublin Review*.

or a republic, is the most natural and fitting form of polity. Hence this government, though springing out of circumstances that may be termed providential, is never, like royalty, an emanation from the divine institution of the family.

No civil governments are, of course, strictly divine ; but all, of whatever form, are, as the Scripture and the Church teach, ordained of God ; because they are necessary to the defence and the conservation of human society, whereof He is the author.

NOBILITY.

I now pass to the second element in the Christian monarchy—Nobility. Nobility is an institution still more widely diffused than royalty ; for, in one form or another, it exists in every state, except in small pastoral communities, like the little cantons of Switzerland, or in a republic verging on anarchy. Nobility is the concrete expression of the moral, intellectual, and physical inequality in the human race. It is the outward distinction bestowed on the superiority of martial prowess, or of civil virtue or talent, or of wealth. It is the heart out of which flows, and into which reverts, all the life-blood of the body politic. For, what is the patrimonial royalty, but an evolution from the territorial nobility ? What were the Kings of Prussia some centuries back but Counts of Hohenzollern ? What were the Kings of Bavaria fifty years ago but Dukes of Bavaria ? Nay, what was the Emperor of Austria long ages ago, but Archduke of Austria ? Into what class doth the burgher pass, when, by money acquired in commerce, he has purchased land ; or when, by great military, judicial, or scientific services,

he has been rewarded with permanent honours by his country? Into what class, but the noble, under one denomination or another? and this by the same natural process whereby money or moveable property tends to settle in land, or immoveable property.

How close are the relations of the territorial nobility with the rural population, or the peasantry, it is needless to point out. Not less intimate are the ties which bind the civic nobility or the patriciate with the tradesman and the mechanic.

The Christian priesthood is more or less formed out of all classes; its spiritual ministrations are for the benefit of all; its mission is to preach up the spiritual equality of all men in the eyes of their Heavenly Father and Redeemer, and to mitigate by words of consolation and deeds of love those harsh social inequalities which the sin of our first parents had brought upon the earth. Yet there is no doubt that, considered in their purely social relations, the clergy, by the similarity of their political privileges, by the nature of their property, which consists chiefly in land and in the charges on land, by the refinements of intellectual culture, and lastly by the birth of many of their members, are more closely connected with the noble than with any other class. This community of feelings and interests does not, of course (as we shall presently see), preclude the clergy from forming in the political system a counterpoise to nobility.

Hence we can understand the immense importance of this last-named great central institution, with which all other members of the body politic are more or less intimately bound. Hence we can understand why aristocracy has always been

considered the great prop of the throne, and the rampart of popular freedom. Hence we can understand the expression of the great Catholic publicist, Von Haller, who declared that all the purely political disputes which for the last eighty years have convulsed Europe might be resolved into the question of nobility. And I do not hesitate to say that a Catholic devoted to his Church, who thinks soundly on nobility, will think soundly on every other matter of constitutional policy. But if he misapprehend the position and the functions of nobility, above all, if he be hostile to its existence, he will then be driven to the support either of absolute monarchy or of the revolutionary democracy.

Of nobility there are various kinds, and various grades. There is the high aristocracy and the inferior nobility—the *barones majores* and the *barones minores*—the peerage and the landed gentry, as in Great Britain and Ireland—the *hoherer adel* and the *kleiner adel* of the Germans—the *noblesse de la cour* and the *noblesse de province* of ancient France—the *grandesa* and *hidalgos* of Spain and Portugal. There is the military and the judicial nobility—the *noblesse de l'épée* and the *noblesse de la robe*; there is the *patriciate*, or the commercial nobility, which in the cities of Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries, was once so powerful, as well as wealthy. One of the most constant as well as liberal pursuits of nobility is the cultivation of letters; but its true inherent calling is the profession of arms. Hence the Slavonic language, with an admirable philosophy, forms its word *boyard* (nobleman) from the root *boi*, which signifies battle.

In nobility, also, not only is the sense of per-

sonal honour most keen, but the sentiment of nationality is most vivid ; though of course in the better specimens of this class that feeling is softened and refined by the influences of religion, education, and a large intercourse with mankind : for nobility is the representative and the guardian of the national spirit and the political traditions of a country, as the priesthood is the natural organ and defender of its religious doctrines and traditions. And this leads me to another element in the Christian monarchy—the clergy, considered in their political aspect.

THE CLERICAL ORDER.

Under the patriarchal dispensation, religious and political authority was combined in the head of the family, and subsequently in the head of the commonwealth. In the Mosaic law the two powers were separated, and the Jewish Church, though local and national, was still independent of the State. In the Christian religion, the Church is not only independent, but universal. Her universality confirms her independence, and her independence brings out her universality into bolder relief. Thus did religion first cling round, prop, and adorn the family and the state ; then it detached itself, like a vigorous plant, needing no support ; and, lastly, it grew into a mighty tree, overshadowing the earth, and sheltering all families, and tribes, and peoples, and kingdoms.

But though distinct from, and independent of, the temporal power, the Church is not to be separated from it. She is there to guard, and strengthen, and enlighten, and hallow the State. Without this connection between the two institu-

tions—the one (as I have said) immediately and directly established by God, for man's eternal happiness, the other only mediately and indirectly ordained of God for his temporal felicity ;—without this connection, I repeat, there would have been no Christian civilization ; without it, civil legislation would not have been humanized, nor vicious customs eradicated, nor regal tyranny curbed, nor popular licence restrained ; while the Church herself, in the exercise of her own discipline, and the management of her own property, would have been left unprotected.*

If the Church must hold property, and property, too, of the best and most stable kind—that is to say, land—then of course she must enjoy those

* The modern false theories as to the relations between Church and State correspond to the ancient heresies relative to the Person of our Lord. Thus Erastianism, or the ecclesiastical supremacy of the State, corresponds to Arianism. The elder Calvinism, which merged the State in the Church, answers to Eutychianism. The doctrine of the total separation of Church and State, pronounced five-and-twenty years ago, with good intentions, by the Abbé de la Mennais, but censured by the Holy See, in the Encyclical Letter of 1832, corresponds to Nestorianism, or the denial of the Unity of our Lord's Person. This was the first shoal on which that great genius was destined to split. These analogies have been traced with a masterly hand, by the illustrious Görres. See his *Athanasius*, in German. Ratisbonne, 1838. See also an article entitled "Religious and Social Condition of Belgium," in the *Dublin Review*, 1845, where the writer of this lecture endeavoured to show that in despite of the excellent spirit of the bulk of the Belgian people, this principle of the total separation of Church and State, proclaimed in their Constitution, went far to neutralize the other principle of the spiritual independence of the Church, which it equally recognized. Twelve years' experience has surely not tended to weaken the force of the observations the writer then made.

political rights which property involves; and those rights must be in proportion to her own dignity, and in proportion to the benefit of those conferring them; in other words, the clergy must hold in the state an eminent rank.

Connected as they are by spiritual bonds with all classes,—bound, too, by natural ties with all ranks,—the priesthood are the mediators among men, called on by position as well as by origin, by interest as well as by duty, to promote concord among all orders of society, to defend all rights, and reconcile all interests. They represent in the state the principle of charity or conciliation, as the secular aristocracy typify that of force, as well as of justice. Hence theocracies, like those of Papal Rome and the old ecclesiastical electorates of Germany, lean to an excessive mildness of rule; while aristocracies, untempered by the monarchical, clerical, and popular elements, like that of Venice, are characterized by harshness.

The clergy, too, typify the intellectual principle in the state. A German Catholic philosopher once called the priesthood “the upper house of intelligence,” and the scientific class “the lower house;” and this is strictly true, for the one represents, like the aristocracy, the stable, invariable domain of intelligence, which is Divine Revelation; the other, like the commonalty, is the representative of the moveable property of intelligence, which is science. Both, of course, are closely interlinked, and stand or fall together. The clergy, of course, cannot dispense with the aids of literature and science; and generally speaking (except under very peculiar circumstances), they are the most literate body of a nation. The *literati* and scientific men need as

much, and even more than others, the guiding light and the sanctifying influences of religion. Wherever the priesthood is honoured, there literature is honoured; and wherever the former is hated and persecuted, there letters and science often share the same fate. This fact is perceptible in the early years of the so-called "Reformation," when learning, universities, and their professors were treated with such profound contempt; in the French Revolution, when the atheistic Jacobins of 1793, on no other ground but his scientific pre-eminence, sent, amongst others, the great chemist Lavoisier to the guillotine; and, lastly, in the Red Republicans and the Socialists of our own time, who, after having long exalted scientific men above priests, now involve both (as they do the noble and the burgher) in the same brutal, sanguinary hate.

THE COMMONS.

It is now time to pass to the last element of the Christian Monarchy—the third estate. As the aristocracy and the clergy severally form corporations, so the people, represented in the municipality, constitute a corporation. The municipality, chosen by the citizens for the management of their local concerns, at once reflects and guides the spirit of those citizens. Here they learn to know each other,—here they are initiated into affairs,—here they become acquainted with the difficulties and the responsibilities of government, and consequently acquire habits of moderation and self-discipline,—here public spirit and a strong practical sense are fostered and developed,—here is the well-spring of national prosperity,—here the semi-

nary of useful legislation,—here the sure defence of order,—here the bulwark of popular freedom. Hence the municipal corporation is hated alike by the despot and the demagogue. The system of administrative centralization is, on the other hand, the idol of both; for it facilitates in a marvellous degree the accomplishment of their respective schemes.

Out of the municipality were, in part, elected the deputies of the third estate. These, called Procuradores in Spain, Tiers Etat in France, Commons in England, symbolize and embody the active, stirring forces of society—the mercantile and industrial classes, the yeomanry, the learned professions, to which must be added a large admixture of the inferior nobility. This branch of the legislature represents more directly the principle of progress, as the other two represent that of stability. Without an active, intelligent middle class, there is no advanced civilization. Look at Poland and Hungary, countries possessing the rudiments of a noble constitution—countries that had deserved so well of Christendom, and that, indeed, were martyrs in her cause. Yet those lands, partly from the perpetual inroads and ravages of the Muscovites and Turks, partly from the benumbing influence of the Greek schismatical church, partly from the religious troubles of the sixteenth century, partly from the variety of races in one country, and partly from the disastrous system of elective royalty and the *liberum veto* in the other,—those countries, I say, Poland and Hungary, were excluded from the advantages of commerce and industry. And so, on one hand, they never emancipated their peasants from the shackles of serfdom, and never, on the other, raised

up an energetic, independent, intelligent, wealthy middle class. I once heard a German, who had travelled much in Hungary, call that land "England in the time of King John;" and the designation, as regards the late constitution of that country, is not incorrect.

Thus, to sum up in one word the characteristics of the different elements in the Christian monarchy, I may call royalty the principle of love or cohesion in the state, the clergy the principle of spiritual direction, the aristocracy the principle of conservation, the middle class the principle of renovation, and the lower the principle of production—whether in agriculture, industry, or trade.

If we compare the constitution of the Three Estates with the other forms of polity that succeeded it, we may arrive at the following result. This states-constitution may be defined a monarchy, tempered by the power of the clergy, the nobility, and the third estate. The crown could exercise its veto freely, and as it was in possession of its own hereditary domains, could never be starved by a factious parliament into a surrender of its prerogatives. The clergy held large benefices and endowments, and could not, therefore (as in some of the modern constitutional kingdoms), be menaced in its material existence with the withdrawal of parliamentary subsidies. The nobility was wealthy and powerful, and not (as in so many of the modern continental countries) weakened, plundered, impoverished, living on the scanty remnant of ancient possessions. The third estate had its full corporate privileges and property, freely administering its municipal concerns, and not depending on a central board

for the regulation of its minutest affairs. No tax could be levied, no law passed without the concurrence of the Three Estates. There, doubtless, collisions between the several powers in the body politic were possible, and did actually occur; but the danger, as well as the frequency of such collisions, was infinitely lessened. There was the Catholic religion, to preserve concord among all classes; there was, on the part of the subject, deep loyalty to the Crown, and on the part of the Crown, the most paternal sentiments towards the subject. There harmony was maintained, as in all domestic and social life, by a spirit of mutual concession and mutual forbearance.

This noble constitution was in its development arrested by the Reformation—an event that exercised the greatest political influence even over those countries that adhered to the Catholic faith.

THE MODERN ABSOLUTISM.

The Absolutism that in the 16th century replaced the mediæval constitution of the Three Estates, may be defined an undue, exorbitant extension of the Royal Power to the prejudice of the other members of the state.

This Absolutism, in some Protestant countries, shows itself under a hideous aspect; but in Catholic kingdoms, it was tempered (as even Montesquieu acknowledges to have been the case in regard to Spain) by the influence of the clergy, by the paternal character of most sovereigns, by the manners and spirit of the people, and by municipal franchises, and local liberties. This government can be better appreciated when I come to speak of the affairs of Spain.

THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION.

The British Constitution, which had been in the Middle Ages the same with that of other Catholic monarchies, underwent, at the Reformation, and in the subsequent period, the most violent perturbations, oscillating fearfully between despotism and democracy, till at last it settled down into the polity of 1688. That Constitution, from the Revolution of 1688 down to the important changes of 1832, may be defined an aristocracy, tempered by democracy, and retaining and respecting the traditions, habits, indirect power, and prestige of Royalty. The great changes of 1832, which somewhat modify this definition, I will not attempt to characterize; for such an attempt would lead me into the stormy region of contemporaneous politics. And those changes I could not well characterize, if I would; because we still live in the crisis of their development. The British is still the noblest of existing constitutions.

THE MODERN REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM.

The modern representative system which has grown out of the great French Revolution of 1789, and which has found so much favour in some European countries, may be defined a temporary compromise between Absolutism and Democracy. This system I sufficiently characterized when I told you what the Mediæval Monarchy was not.

THE OLD POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS OF SPAIN.

In no country had the old parliamentary institutions struck deeper root, and taken a more vigorous growth, than in Spain. The political influence of the clergy had been great under the old Gothic monarchy; and in the long religious and national struggle which the Christians of Spain had to carry on against their Mussulman invaders, that influence was not likely to decline. The Kings of Spain were, under their trying circumstances, more dependent on the nobles. These nobles, in their wars, acquired immense possessions, and with possessions, of course, great political importance. The cities formed the strongest bulwark against the Moors, and it was found necessary to concede to them large corporate privileges. Royalty, in its turn, was invested with the additional halo which misfortune imparts to high station. So all circumstances concurred to give a vigorous development to Spain's political institutions.

Under this system of temperate monarchy, she expelled her Moorish invaders, planted the triumphant cross on the walls of Granada, carried on an active trade, covered her soil with rich and beautiful cities, promulgated from the opulent Barcelona a maritime code to Europe, laid the foundations of her own colonial greatness, and nursed those formidable hosts which, down to the middle of the seventeenth century, were the terror of Europe. A romantic poetry, too, added new lustre to the feats of chivalry.

But in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Inquisition, very different in its constitution and

proceedings from the milder one of Rome, by its extreme severity embittered minds, and exercised at times a dangerous compression on the human intellect. The emigration to America drained the population; and the introduction of the precious metals led to the neglect of husbandry and manufactures. The thirst for gold in the new continent, and the deeds of blood and rapine which accompanied it, debased and corrupted a portion of the nation. The degradation of the Cortes crushed the public spirit and the political energies of all classes, and so dried up the well-spring that would certainly have revived the state. So that hardy plant of the mountains of Asturias and Castile, when transferred to the sunny plains of Andalusia, put forth an unwonted richness of blossoming; but when again transplanted to the tropical soil of America, then its excessive luxuriance of foliage and gaudiness of flowers told the discerning eye, that decay was already at the root.

The tendency to regal absolutism was general in the fifteenth century; and this from causes which it would be too long here to enumerate. The same phenomenon is apparent in Spain, in France, and even in England. It may be traced to the general decline of the spiritual power, and especially to the disregard for that temporal umpirage of the Popes, which had not been less instrumental in upholding the mutual rights of the sovereign and the subject, than in enforcing justice in the international relations of states.

In Spain, besides the more general causes adverted to, the divisions among the different orders in the kingdom facilitated in a remarkable degree the undue extension of the royal pre-

rogative. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a great contest had been going on between the nobles and the cities, as to the possession and the administration of certain public domains. This dispute sometimes broke out into open warfare ; but even in quiet times, it extended to other political questions, and was in the state a dangerous element of disorder.

QUEEN ISABELLA.

The glorious reign of Isabella had drawn to a close. Under the joint sceptre of that Queen and of her consort, Ferdinand, the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile had been united ; Moorish Granada had fallen, and the Crescent had succumbed to the Cross ; a new world had been discovered, and brought under subjection to the Spanish crown ; the spirit of maritime adventure had been awakened ; and commerce and manufactures had reached a high pitch of prosperity. Nor had the advancement of letters been less attended to. The vernacular poetry had been encouraged ; classical studies had been fostered ; new editions and commentaries on the Greek and Roman writers had been brought out ; printing-presses established in the chief cities of the kingdom ; eminent scholars, foreigners as well as natives, appointed to the university chairs ; a learned academy instituted in the palace itself ; the old universities reformed, and the new one of Alcala founded by the illustrious Cardinal Ximenes ; and under the munificent patronage of the same great prelate and statesman, and with incredible labour and expense, the first polyglot Bible had been ushered into the world.

While she had thus promoted the intellectual refinement and the material well-being of her subjects, Isabella had been still more solicitous for the sacred interests of religion. Having obtained from the Pope the right of nomination to many episcopal sees and inferior ecclesiastical benefices, she appointed none but men of learning and piety. With the sanction of the Holy See, and with the co-operation of the prelates, she was instrumental in restoring discipline in many monasteries and convents, and in reforming the manners of many of the secular clergy.

In her own person she combined all the qualities, moral and intellectual, that could adorn a woman and a sovereign. Her prudence, forethought, courage, firmness, and perseverance were equalled only by her piety, generosity, gentleness, charity to the poor, and conjugal and maternal tenderness.

FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC.

Vastly inferior to her in amiability and virtue, her consort, Ferdinand, was her equal in sagacity, steadiness, and courage. This politic prince successively annexed to his dominions Naples, Navarre, and Oran and other fortresses on the coast of Africa; while in her transatlantic possessions he consolidated the authority of Spain.

The great aim, both of Queen Isabella and himself, under the guidance of Cardinal Ximenes, was to restrict the exorbitant power, and check the turbulent spirit of the nobles. But not content with repressing the abuses of aristocratic power, their efforts tended to weaken and undermine its existence. In the prosecution of a policy

common to the sovereigns of that age, the more generous Isabella was carried further than wisdom would have sanctioned; but in his assaults on nobility, it is impossible to acquit the crafty Ferdinand of despotic designs.

A powerful instrument, which this sovereign employed for extending the royal prerogative, was the acquisition of the grand-masterships of the military orders, like that of St. Iago, of Calatrava, and of Alcantara. This vastly augmented the revenues of the Crown, as well as brought the inferior nobility under its influence.

Another engine, which the same prince made use of to effect his despotic purposes, was the Inquisition.

THE INQUISITION.

This tribunal, founded in the year 1478, was, both in its origin, its composition, and subsequent history, far more political than the first Inquisition, that in the thirteenth century had been instituted against the Albigenses. At the urgent request of Ferdinand and Isabella, Pope Sixtus IV. issued a Bull on the 1st November, 1478, allowing the establishment of an Inquisition in Castile for the cognizance of heresy, provided three ecclesiastical dignitaries of irreproachable morals and competent learning were appointed to preside.

Dr. Hefele, a German Catholic theologian, who has written an excellent life of Cardinal Ximenes, is the modern writer who has furnished us with the most valuable information respecting this tribunal. He proves, as I pointed out in a review I made of this work a few years ago (and I will

here take the liberty of citing my own words*)—he proves the repugnance which the Popes evinced to the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition, and their constant efforts to mitigate its severity. He shows, nevertheless, that its prisons were very roomy and well ventilated; that except in the very rare case of an attempt at suicide, no fetters or manacles were put on the prisoners; that torture for eliciting the truth was applied less frequently, with more humanity, and under greater restrictions, than in the secular tribunals of the time; that much mildness and indulgence were practised in the treatment of prisoners; and that every precaution was devised and enforced to protect innocence, to obviate fraud, malice, or revenge on the part of accusers and witnesses, and to further in every way the ends of justice. Dr. Hefele then speaks of the *autos da fe*, and convicts Llorente the historian of the Inquisition, and his copyists, of the most enormous exaggerations on this head, showing that the jurisdiction of the holy office was not confined to heresy, but extended to the grosser transgressions of the moral law, such as blasphemy, sacrilege, sorcery, polygamy, nameless crimes, and other heinous offences. He proves that the number of executions, as stated by the Spanish writer just named, are most grossly exaggerated, and rest on absurd and inconsistent estimates. He next states the opinions of the most illustrious Spaniards on the Inquisition, and, further, shows that that institution did not, as is often pretended, exert so injurious an influence on literature and science. Lastly, he sketches the biography of Llorente himself, and lays open, besides his heterodox sentiments and

* See *Dublin Review*. Oct. 1852. Article—"Life and Times of Cardinal Ximenes."

his rancorous hostility to the Holy See, the gross ignorance, the total absence of critical acumen, and the falsehoods, the contradictions, and the malignity that pervade all his writings.

In his assertion that the Spanish Inquisition was far more a political than an ecclesiastical institute, Dr. Hefele is supported not only by Catholic writers of such eminence as Frederick Schlegel and Balmez, but by distinguished Protestant historians, like Guizot, Ranke, and Prescott. And in the charge of carelessness and ignorance, which he has so fully substantiated against Llorente, he is to a great extent borne out by Prescott himself.

The new Inquisition founded by Ferdinand the Catholic, and which, as we have seen from its constitution and its proceedings, was far more political than the ancient one, was an instrument (and, indeed, was so designed) for stretching the royal prerogative. The fifteenth century, which witnessed its establishment, was a period when in many countries of Europe, as has been said, regal absolutism was superseding the old free monarchy of the Middle Ages. And, indeed, the prince who instituted this tribunal in Spain was one who strove to undermine the ancient liberties of his country. That the new Inquisition was an engine of political power in the hands of the sovereign, none can deny, who remember that Philip II., when the Aragonese refused to surrender to him the obnoxious minister Perez, who had sought an asylum amongst them, denounced him to this tribunal, without even alleging against him the pretext of heresy. And how can we call that a purely ecclesiastical court, which, among other transgressions, took cognizance of offences against fiscal and commercial regulations, and

other matters of civil administration? How could an institute, which was so frequently in collision with Papal and episcopal authority, be deemed a bulwark of ecclesiastical rights? And if it were so much under the influence of the crown, where was the guarantee that the liberties of the other orders, and especially of the nobles, would receive an adequate protection?

Though the conspiracies and the revolts of the Jews and the Moors had led to the establishment of the Inquisition; yet King Ferdinand the Catholic made use of this tribunal for furthering one of the great ends of his policy—the extension of the royal power.

Though many Jews had simulated conversion to Christianity, and many had been engaged in conspiracies against the throne; yet the total expulsion of this people from Spain was a most barbarous, unjustifiable act, and one most prejudicial to industry and trade. Many of the unfortunate exiles, through the clemency of the reigning Pontiff, Pope Alexander VI., found a hospitable asylum within the Roman states.

PHILIP AND JOANNA.

On Isabella's death, which took place in the year 1504, her daughter Joanna, and her consort Philip, the son of the Emperor Maximilian, succeeded to the throne of Castile. But two years afterwards Philip died, and his queen Joanna lost her reason. Hereupon Cardinal Ximenes induced the Castilian Cortes to confer on Ferdinand the Catholic the regency of Castile, till Philip's son, afterwards Charles V., should attain his majority.

Ferdinand continued to govern Castile, as Regent, and to reign over his native Aragon, till the period of his death. This occurred on the 23rd of January, 1516, when, having received with much fervour the last sacraments of the Church, he expired at the age of sixty-four, deeply regretted by a people whom he had helped to raise to so high a pitch of prosperity and glory. His public character I have already had occasion to describe. Though in his youth he had sometimes given way to sensual pleasures, he was in maturer years devout and regular in his conduct.

His successor to the united crowns of Aragon and Castile, with all their dependencies, was Charles V.

CHARLES V.

Charles was born at Ghent, the 25th February, 1500. He was the eldest son of Philip the Fair, archduke of Austria, and of Joanna, infanta of Castile. His paternal grandfather was the German emperor Maximilian, and his maternal grandmother, Isabella, queen of Castile. At his christening, which took place on the 7th of March of the same year, the magistrates of Ghent presented to the newborn child a silver ship weighing fifty pounds—the presage, as it were, of his future maritime power.

He was at first brought up at Mechlin, under the care of his paternal aunt, Margaret of Austria, one of the most distinguished women of the sixteenth century. Charles, at a very early age, had lost his father, whose premature death had disordered the reason, never very strong, of his Queen Joanna. The education of the young

prince was intrusted to the care of William of Croy, baron of Chievres, and of Adrian of Utrecht, a man of humble birth, but of great learning and piety, who afterwards, under the name of Adrian VI., mounted the pontifical throne.

Charles, in his childhood, evinced a certain delicacy of constitution; but his health became more robust as he grew up. It was perhaps for this reason his governor encouraged in him a love for bodily and martial exercises, rather than for intellectual pursuits.

He attained his majority in August, 1515; and in the following January, on the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, all the kingdoms of Spain and her colonies fell to his lot. He inherited from his father the Low Countries, that is, the present kingdoms of Belgium and Holland, including the French province of Franche Comté. On the 28th January, 1519, he was elected at Frankfort emperor of Germany. Thus he became the most powerful sovereign that had reigned in Europe since Charlemagne; and so arose that glorious monarchy, on whose bounds the sun never set.

Like all men whose intellectual powers are various, the mind of Charles was of slow development. He had reached his twenty-fifth year when the Venetian ambassador at Madrid, Tiepolo, declared it to be the opinion of most people that the Prince was actually stupid. It was thus in our own times an eminent literary man, M. de Chateaubriand, who, in the versatility of his talents was equalled by few of his contemporaries, was wont to be called by his mother, up to his fifteenth year, the dunce of the family. The existence of many faculties in one mind impedes their mutual growth, and so it is late before they all come to

maturity. It was not before his thirtieth year, the great intellect of Charles revealed itself to his astonished contemporaries. Then he emancipated himself from the tutelage of his counsellors; then he judged and acted for himself; then he proved himself one of the ablest generals and the most consummate statesman of his times. As the sun, when he suddenly emerges from the clouds and mists of the morning, careers majestically through the heavens, darting on all sides the splendour of his beams, calling forth all the magnificence of vegetation, and revealing and beautifying all the rich variety of animal life, till he sinks to his rest under a gorgeous canopy of clouds,—it was so with this illustrious emperor.

“Further, further!” was his glorious device, and well he fulfilled it. He flies wherever his presence is needed; he visits alternately every portion of his vast dominions. Many a long, fatiguing journey he undertakes by land, many a dangerous voyage he encounters at sea. The affairs of war and the occupations of peace by turns engage his attention. Now he triumphs over Francis I.; now he defeats the German Protestants at Mühlberg; now he conquers Tunis, and delivers the Christian captives; now he arrests the Turk in his victorious career; now he reduces to obedience the rebellious city of Ghent; now he quells the insurrection of the Comunidades in Spain; now he strives to allay the religious disputes of Germany; now he aids in the convocation of a general council. And as if Europe were too confined a theatre for his exploits and his glory, America is overrun and subdued by his generals, and Fernando Cortez, and Pizarro, and their comrades, lay a new world at his feet.

My business upon the present occasion is only with this monarch's rule in Spain. When he went to Germany to be crowned, and intrusted the administration of the former country to the unpopular Fleming, Cardinal Adrian, the cities of Castile, headed by Don Juan Padilla, rose up in revolt. The rebellion was directed against the exorbitant and ever-increasing taxes levied by the Flemish ministers. The insurgents were confederated in a league called the Holy Junta; but their army was beaten at Villalar, in the year 1521, and Padilla taken and executed. A like insurrection broke out in Valencia, under the name of the Germanada; and owing to the tyranny of the nobles, a still more violent one in Majorca. Charles, on his return, announced an almost general amnesty; but when the revolt had been put down, the Cortes in the different kingdoms of Spain lost more and more of their power and importance.

LAST YEARS OF CHARLES V.

The reverses that marked the close of Charles's life rendered his attacks of gout more frequent; and a constitutional melancholy, which he seems to have inherited from his mother Joanna, did ever and anon cast a shade over that existence, which had long been so brilliant. Often had he sighed for the charms of religious solitude; and now that Philip had reached his majority, he resolved to abdicate in his favour. After having resigned into his hands the sceptres of Burgundy and of Spain, with all her vast possessions, and after having vainly endeavoured to obtain for him the imperial crown of Germany, he sought a refuge

from the cares and turmoil of the world in the Monastery of St. Just, in Estremadura. Master of half of Europe, and lord of America, he had yet discerned more clearly than most men the emptiness of human grandeur. Two years he passed in this sacred retreat, dividing his time between religious contemplation and mechanical pursuits, and occasionally giving advice to his son on grave affairs of state. Retaining to the last the serene possession of his great intellect, he breathed out his soul into his Maker's hands on the 21st of September, 1558.

Thus died a prince possessed of high moral qualities and the most splendid intellectual gifts, and who, in a critical period of European history, had received from Divine Providence, for the defence of the Church and the protection of Christendom, an immense power. And when we consider the vast difficulties he had to encounter, he certainly was faithful to his mission. Errors, and grave errors, he doubtless committed. He often encroached on the rights of the Church, and dealt a heavy blow at the civil liberties of Spain. But here he obeyed more the spirit of his age than the inclination of his own heart; for princes are often overborne by the imperious sway of circumstances, and follow a pre-existing system of policy, whereof they comprehend not the import, nor foresee the consequences. In the case of the German interim, though it was an interference with the jurisdiction of the Church, Charles clearly acted with the intention of allaying the religious contests of Germany. His disagreements with the Popes were almost always of a political kind; and the sack of Rome, one of the most disgraceful events in an age so rife in scandals, occurred without

his sanction, and called forth his most severe reprobation.

Though his youth had been stained by some irregularities, yet later, in all the relations of private life he was most exemplary; and the Bishop Navagiero, who was Venetian Ambassador at Madrid, and who had ample opportunities for forming a correct judgment, pronounced him to be the most religious of princes.

Let us now pass to the reign of his son.

PHILIP II.

Philip II. was born at Valladolid, on the 21st May, 1527. His mother was the Empress Isabella, daughter of Emanuel the Great of Portugal. By his father he was descended from the ducal houses of Burgundy and Austria. By both father and mother he claimed a descent from Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic of Spain. "As by blood he was half a Spaniard (says Prescott), so by temperament and character he proved to be wholly so."

His education had been intrusted to the care of a learned professor of Salamanca, Martinez Siliceo, and to the Commendador Mayor of Castile, Don John Zuniga, an accomplished cavalier, and a man of the very highest honour and probity.

Philip made considerable proficiency in the Latin language; but evinced a more decided taste for the mathematics, as well as for the fine arts, of which he became a considerable connoisseur and a liberal patron. In his childhood he gave an earnest of that grave and almost melancholy temperament which afterwards distinguished him.

It is impossible to conceive a stronger contrast

than that existing between the characters of Charles and Philip, his son. Charles was remarkable for bodily activity; was, as we have seen, constantly travelling, and was particularly fond of the chase. After the two visits paid in his youth to the different provinces of his empire, Philip never undertook a long journey, rarely travelled further than from Madrid to the Escorial and back again, and took no delight in the pleasures of the chase. Charles loved the military life, was himself a most distinguished general, and divided his time between diplomacy and war. Philip was essentially what the French call, "*un homme de cabinet*," indefatigable in the labours of the desk, ever selecting able generals; but after the battle of St. Quentin, fought in the first years of his reign, never taking a personal part in warfare. Charles spoke many languages, could adapt himself to the manners and habits of the different nations he ruled, and uttered such a number of wise and witty sayings as would fill a volume. Philip was most reserved and taciturn; spoke but the Castilian tongue with ease; was a Spaniard, and nothing but a Spaniard, in all his views, feelings and habits; and was stiff and unprepossessing in his deportment and manners. The father never pushed his political principles to extremes, but accommodated them to the wants and circumstances of the time, and strove to attemper justice with mercy. The son took up certain fixed, absolute principles; clung to them with inflexible pertinacity; sought to enforce them, without regard to time, place, and circumstances; and everywhere carry out rigid right, irrespective of the claims of equity.

What errors, what crimes, which his father

never would have committed, marked the public conduct of Philip! Let us consider his proceedings in regard to the Netherlands, to Portugal, and to Spain herself.

1st. On the outbreak of the troubles in the Netherlands, Philip pursued a policy the very reverse of what prudence would have dictated. If those provinces were to be preserved to Spain, then surely common sense would have suggested that the Sovereign should visit them in person, allay their feelings of irritation, redress their grievances, confirm their old political rights and liberties anew, and thus detach the justly discontented patriots from the adherents of the new heresy. Then, among the partisans of that heresy, the Sovereign should have distinguished between those who, like the Lutherans and the Calvinists, held doctrines consistent with social order, and those who (as in the case of the Anabaptists) struck at the root of all society. Again, he should have made a distinction between those provinces where Protestantism had taken deep root, and those where it was not yet introduced, tolerating it in the former, and excluding it from the latter. For let it not be forgotten, that the religious toleration now so happily prevalent, could not, in the age which witnessed the breaking out of the Reformation, have been carried out to the same extent; for then a Protestant sect was no sooner tolerated, than it aimed at ascendancy; and as soon as it acquired ascendancy, it began to persecute the members of the Catholic Church.

The policy here recommended was at a subsequent period followed by the illustrious general and statesman, Alexander Farnese, and was the means of preserving to the Spanish Crown the

southern provinces of Belgium. Had Philip, at the outset of the insurrection, adopted this course, the Dutch provinces would not have been torn from his sceptre. But instead of pursuing a system alike wise, conciliatory, and firm, recommended even by the Regent, Margaret of Parma, Philip hesitated, procrastinated, gave evasive replies, and sought by dissimulation to compass his ends. The Catholics of the Netherlands, disgusted with his perfidy, joined the Protestants in a common league to defend their civil privileges. And it was only the fanatic violence of the tumultuous bands called the Gueux, which alienated the Catholic population from the alliance.

Disdaining the entreaties of the Netherland patriots, and heedless even of the counsels of the Regent, Philip sends to the Low Countries an army commanded by the inexorable Alba. The system of terror, and the countless atrocities committed by this sanguinary tyrant (unfortunately too well supported by Philip), brought odium on the Church, caused the Spanish name to be execrated, and was well-nigh effacing the last vestige of Spanish rule in the Netherlands. Alba, dishonoured, detested, was now disgraced by the court in whose behalf he had trampled under foot all the laws of justice and humanity. The other generals who succeeded him in the task of quelling rebellion, like Requesens, Don John of Austria, Alexander Farnese, and Spinola, strove by a system of conciliation to win back the affections of the unfortunate inhabitants. Requesens even ordered the statue to be pulled down which Alba, at Antwerp, had arrogantly erected to himself. But if the policy of these generals, and the

partial success attending it (for the re-conquest of the northern provinces circumstances had now rendered well-nigh impossible)—if this policy, I say, was the severest condemnation on the terrorism of Alba, where can we discern the wisdom of a prince who, by his craft and dissimulation, had disgusted his subjects, Catholic as well as Protestant—by his tyranny had driven them into rebellion, and who, yielding to the claims of justice only at the eleventh hour, was able to save but one-half of the most flourishing portion of his empire?

2nd. Again, his conduct towards Portugal is marked by the most reckless, violent measures. On the death of Cardinal Henry, he takes possession of that country as the grandson of Emanuel the Great on the maternal side; but he violates all the engagements he enters into with the inhabitants. He never convokes their Cortes; he tramples under foot their political liberties; he shuts the port of Lisbon against the vessels of the Dutch, and so forces that enterprising people to seek in the Indian Archipelago itself for the spices and other Indian commodities, which they were willing to purchase from the Portuguese. Hence they successively wrest from the latter the Moluccas, the peninsula of Malacca, the isle of Ceylon, and many fortified places on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, and succeed in expelling their factories from Japan. Thus deprived of her foreign trade and her colonies on the one hand, and of her constitutional liberties on the other, Portugal sees all her springs of internal prosperity dried up. "A system of rapacity," says Pütz, "was widely organized. All places were given away or sold to the Spaniards; the royal domains

of the country were confiscated; its fortresses dismantled; its military navy carried off to the docks of Spain." Forty years after Philip's death, the glorious and almost bloodless revolution of 1640 delivered Portugal from the Spanish yoke; but though the change was salutary, she never recovered her ancient wealth and greatness.

3rd. With regard to his own native dominions, who can deny that Philip's incessant wars, sometimes carried on simultaneously with the Netherlands, France, and England, must have exhausted the finances, and proved ruinous to the prosperity of Spain? If these wars were sometimes just, and conducive to the welfare of Christendom, yet how expensive in the magnitude of their operations, and in their diversity!

It is fair, however, to recall to mind the more successful measures of Philip. His fleet, combined with the Papal and the Venetian, and commanded by his natural half-brother, Don John of Austria, annihilated, in the year 1571, the Turkish navy at Lepanto—an event from which we may date the decline of the Ottoman power. Again, it was the support which Philip gave to the Catholic League, that effected the exclusion of a Protestant prince from the throne of France, and the consequent salvation of religion in that country. But here his policy was not of the most disinterested kind; and the Spanish faction, stained as it was with crimes, long retarded the settlement of that difficult question.

On the 13th of September, 1598, Philip the Second died in the splendid palace of the Escorial, which he himself had built. During his frightful illness he received the sacraments of the Church many times, and had his eyes constantly fixed on

a crucifix (the gift of his illustrious father) ; while he ordered the crown to be placed on a death's skull by his bedside. The awful malady of which he died—the *morbis pedicularis*—is one inflicted only on great tyrants and great heresiarchs. Thus his death was as equivocal as his life ; and in calling him to Himself, the Almighty seemed publicly to condemn the means wherewith he had often dishonoured the holiest of causes—the craft, the violence, and the tyranny with which he had so often defended the Church.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Let us now take a general survey of the Spanish monarchy towards the close of the sixteenth century.

Since the year 1538, when some of them by their opposition gave offence to Charles V., the Grandees had never been summoned to Cortes. They were henceforth, both by that monarch and his successor, studiously excluded from places of trust and importance, whether in the army or in the administration.

They now were induced to pass more of their time in cities than on their estates, giving themselves up frequently to most frivolous amusements, playing a part in the pageantry of the court, getting sometimes involved in debt, and so falling into a state of dependence on the Crown. So they lost more and more of their political importance.

The Hidalgos, or inferior nobility, that had formerly served under the Grandees, now entered into the royal army or navy, or took holy orders, or emigrated to America.

The clergy, from the commencement of the

sixteenth century, had become more and more dependent upon the Crown. Philip himself declared, in an ordinance of 1565, that he had received from the Holy See the presentation to all the episcopal and collegiate churches in his dominions. The loss by the clergy of capitular election had important effects even of a political kind:

Philip, it must be observed, was most conscientious in his ecclesiastical appointments—looking chiefly to learning and piety, and making birth a secondary consideration. Like the nobility, the clergy, too, from henceforth were never summoned to Cortes.

But during the sixteenth century, the deputies of cities were still convened; yet their old legislative rights had now dwindled down to the privilege of petitioning. Still the German historian, Ranke, says that he has not found in any parliamentary deliberations of that age greater honesty of purpose, or a more patriotic spirit, than in these acts of the Spanish Cortes. Their remonstrances relate either to abuses in the administration, or in the tribunals of justice, or to the excessive expenditure of the court, or to the burden of taxation. The king sometimes admits the justness of their complaints, and promises immediate redress; and sometimes he answers that he will take their prayer into consideration. This convocation of deputies was still, therefore, an important remnant of the ancient liberties of Spain.

Aragon, however, still retained her old parliamentary rights. On one occasion, Philip II., to testify his discontent, entered, booted and spurred, into the Cortes held at Zaragossa—conduct which

was afterwards imitated by Louis XIV., who holding what the French call a bed of justice for enforcing the registration of an ordinance, once came to the Parliament of Paris with a horsewhip in hand, and in full military uniform.*

Under Philip II., Burgos, Medina del Campo, Leon, and other cities sank to be mere shadows of their former greatness.

The Cortes of 1594 addressed the king as follows:—"The truth is, the kingdom is utterly exhausted and drained, so that no one possesses capital, credit, or anything else. Places where there were formerly large woollen-manufactories, have now nothing to show; and where there were once people of substance, these have been reduced in the same proportion. Hence it comes to pass, that in no part of the country are there any powerful and opulent cities. The decrease of the population is apparent in the number of houses closed and empty, and in the small rent paid for those which are let." Such was the language held to Philip by the Castilian Cortes of 1594.†

The venality of the officials seems to have attained a great height, and is a frequent subject of complaint on the part of the Cortes.

Of the countries depending on Spain, Lombardy had preserved the old municipal rights of its cities, and was in the enjoyment of much wealth. Sicily, still in possession of her old institutions, was less exposed to the rapacity and oppression of the Spanish governors. Not so her neighbour Naples, which groaned under the

* See Raumer's *European History*, vol. ii.

† See Ranke's *Southern Europe in sixteenth century*, vol. i.

abuses of the worst administration. The American colonies were not allowed to trade with any European state but the mother country; nor to export their commodities but at certain appointed periods, and then only to the port of Seville. They were therefore compelled to pay three times the ordinary price for the most necessary articles of life; and a system of organized smuggling was the necessary result of these absurd prohibitions. But in the reign of Philip, and his successor, Spain still possessed a most formidable army, a powerful marine, immense colonies, generals and statesmen of a high order, and a brilliant band of artists and men of letters. Need I mention those great captains, the worthy successors of Gonsalvo, and Pescara, and Leyva, men formed by their example and teaching, such as Alexander Farnese, Requesens, Don John of Austria, and Spinola?

Need I recall the great luminaries of art and letters, and remind you of the tenderness of Ponce de Leon, the fertility of Lope, the intense reality of Cervantes, the ideal conceptions of Calderon, the concentrated energy of Murillo?

Need I name, too, the many bright lights of sanctity that at this time adorned the Church of Spain?

In the following reigns of the Austrian dynasty, Spain sank more and more in the scale of nations. She saw her coasts insulted by foreign cruisers—her treasures from her colonies intercepted—her strength wasting away—her population, which in the time of Queen Isabella had amounted to twenty millions, reduced, at the close of the seventeenth century, to six. Under the Bourbon dynasty there was a remarkable improvement; but the people still retained the remembrance of their ancient

renown, and still clung to the last remnants of their old political institutions. They have passed successively through the ordeals of absolutism, and war, and revolution, and an impious, anarchic tyranny; they have lived to see the loss of colonial empire, the degradation of Royalty, the plunder and oppression of the Church. But they have preserved the unfailing well-spring of political greatness—an indomitable courage, the high sense of probity and honour, and an undying attachment to the Catholic faith.*

* In the composition of this Lecture, the following, amongst other works, have been chiefly consulted:—

I. Ranke's History of the Princes and Nations of Southern Europe, 1 vol. (in German); Berlin, 1834.

II. Raumer's Letters on the History of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth century (in German), vol. 2; 1832.

III. History of Cardinal Ximenes, by Hefele (in German); 1844.

IV. Pütz's Geography and History of Modern Europe 3rd vol. (in German); Coblenz, 1855.

V. Encyclopédie Catholique du Dix-neuvième Siècle. Paris, 1840.

VI. Prescott's Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella; 7th edition; London, 1854.

VII. Prescott's Reign of Philip II., 1st and 2nd vol.; London, 1855.

VIII. Balmez's Catholic and Protestant Civilization; translated by C. Hanford, Esq. 1852.

LECTURE VI.*

THEORY AND HISTORY OF THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION OF 1688, AS COMPARED WITH THE OLD EUROPEAN MONARCHY, AND THE MODERN REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM.

MY LORD MAYOR, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,

THE constitution of Great Britain, like that of all the large European kingdoms, was, prior to the Reformation of the sixteenth century, the constitution of the Three Estates. This constitution of the social man corresponded to that of the individual man, in whom mind, soul, and body are united into one person. Again, it answered to the type of the family from which it had sprung, and where its three elements are represented in the father, the mother, and the child. And, again, it corresponded to the divine exemplar of the Christian Catholic Church, whereon it had been modelled, and where the three elements are represented in the Papacy, the Episcopate, and the Presbytery.

In heathen antiquity, the want of such a temperate monarchy was felt, and the theory dimly discerned; but that theory could not be realized, and that want could not be gratified, and for obvious reasons. First, heathenism was incapable

* This lecture was delivered, not before the University, but before a literary society in connection with it.

of inspiring individuals and classes with the same tender reverence for the rights and lawful claims of others, which it is the glory of the Christian religion to have instilled. Secondly, the principle of rigid law, proclaimed by Heathenism, introduced into all the social relations a degree of sternness and severity alien from the spirit of conciliatory equity recommended by the Catholic Church. Thirdly, Paganism, though it might at times exalt royalty into an idol, to be broken again at its caprice, could never, like the Christian religion, invest it with a sacred, inviolable character. Fourthly, under the Pagan system, the spiritual and temporal powers were confounded; and consequently the great guarantee to order and freedom which their separation under Christianity affords, did not then exist. Fifthly, as a consequence of this confusion of civil and religious authority, the priesthood was an emanation of royal power, or an apanage of nobility; or when, as in the system of castes, its position was more independent, its origin, its rights, its whole existence, were still interwoven into the organization of the State. Lastly, the personal slavery to which the masses among Heathen nations were condemned, checked the warm sympathy of class with class, debarred the lower ranks from rising in the social scale, and thus cut off from the State a source of perennial energy.

In the constitution of the Three Estates, royalty possessed its hereditary domains, which insured it independence in its material existence. It shared with the three estates legislative power; but its veto was real and not nominal, and its conscience could not be coerced by a minister at

the head of a parliamentary majority. Of course here, as in all social and domestic life, concord could be maintained only by a spirit of mutual concession and mutual forbearance. But when the king and the estates of the realm were all bound together by the bond of the Catholic religion, there was little probability that a law sanctioned by the clergy, the nobles, and the commons, would involve any principle repugnant to religion, reason, or natural equity.

The clergy possessed spiritual independence; and, backed by their sacred jurisdiction, their property and political privileges insured them vast weight and importance.

The aristocracy, powerful by rank, landed possessions, and political privileges, formed the second distinct rampart against regal tyranny and popular licence. The inferior nobility or gentry corresponded to the second order in the sacred ministry. Between the two orders of the priesthood and the two classes of nobility, stood the lawyers, the academicians, the literati, the men of science, the members of universities. So intelligence, in its higher—spiritual, and in its lower—earthly elements, and property and rank in their various degrees, were here represented.

The commons, in the municipal corporations, had the management of their own funds, and the direction of their own local concerns. Thereby they were initiated into public affairs; they learned to know the difficulties and the responsibilities of government; and so they entered the legislature with minds trained to habits of business, indisposed to rash innovations, and contented with an order of things, which left them undisturbed in the sphere of their political activity.

Such was that admirable constitution of the Three Estates, that, directly or indirectly, and to a greater or less extent, the Reformation retarded in its development.

In England, the way to this religious revolution had been paved by the Lollard heresy, which, even down to the sixteenth century, lurked among some in the lower classes. The civil wars of the Roses had relaxed the bonds of ecclesiastical discipline, and introduced disorder in clerical life, and vice and ignorance among the laity. These wars had also destroyed the flower of our aristocracy, now replaced by a race of upstarts, who, forgetful of the true spirit of nobility, were soon to become the passive instruments of despotic power.

The Reformation was brought about in England, not by popular enthusiasm as in Northern Germany, Switzerland, and Scotland, but by the despotism of the Crown. Step by step, and slowly, against a reluctant people, did the religious innovations make their way.

Looking to their political effects (and this is the only part of the subject that can now engage our attention), we shall see that all those elements, which Catholicism had so happily blended in the body politic, were rudely dissevered by the Reformation. Royalty, by the sacrilegious assumption of ecclesiastical supremacy, became of necessity despotic. The clergy, with the loss of spiritual independence, forfeited more or less their political independence, and, by the rejection of the great Christian sacrifice of the altar, renounced in a manner their moral significance. The aristocracy, bribed with the plunder of the Church, lost by degrees its hold on the people, as it became more dependent on the Crown. The people, in their

turn, taught by the fundamental doctrine of Protestantism to regard all ecclesiastical authority as a usurpation, distrusted and at last despised the Protestant clergy; while imbued with those democratic principles so inherent in Calvinism, they gradually lost all reverence for the throne.

All were to feel in course of time the retributive hand of Divine justice. The clergy, who at the Reformation had so shamefully abandoned their sacred trust, were now in the grand Rebellion dispossessed of their wealth and of the honours they had prized above all spiritual goods. The aristocracy, that had been aggrandised by the sacrilegious robbery of the Church, was now trampled in the dust. The people, that, except in a few instances, had tamely acquiesced in the despoiling and profanation of the sanctuary of faith, were now, in the abject misery consequent on the ruin of so many charitable institutions, to pay the bitter penalty of their defection. Lastly, royalty itself, in the person of the unhappy Charles I., was to expiate on the scaffold the crimes and the impious tyranny of the eighth Henry.

Schism begat heresy, and heresy the wildest fanaticism; and from this in turn were to spring irreligion and religious indifference. The schism of Henry VIII. developed into the heresy of Edward VI., and the latter was succeeded by a rigid Calvinistic presbyterianism; and this again Brownism, or the sect of Independents, and that of Anabaptists, and of Quakers, and lastly, that of the Fifth-Monarchy men, strove successively to set aside. Deism then sought to rise on the ruins of religious fanaticism.

So in politics we witness a like progeny of errors. The despotism of Henry and Elizabeth

provoked the Puritan opposition ; and this again, in the reigns of the first James and of his unfortunate son, drove the Crown, now destitute of the compass of fixed principles and the rudder of old institutions, to arbitrary encroachments on the ancient liberties of the country. In opposition to the court the waves of rebellion successively lifted up factions, each fiercer, wilder, and more lawless than the other. Moderate Puritans, and Independents, and Levellers, and the disciples of Venner, or the Fifth-Monarchy men, one after another, strove to grasp the helm of government, till the sword of Cromwell coerced them into temporary submission. But military tyranny is scarcely more favourable to social order than democratic lawlessness ; and a nation that had passed through all the fearful phases of revolution, now ardently panted for the *Restoration* of its ancient monarchy.

CHARLES II.

When Charles II. mounted the throne of his fathers, in what condition did he find England ? A mighty storm had swept over the land ; and though some stately trees had been levelled with the dust, the main oaks of the forest were still standing. Though some members of the gentry and aristocracy had suffered much from confiscation, the great bulk of the landed property was still in the hands of its original owners. The tithes and the church lands had not been brought to public sale, or been abolished, but had been only transferred to the ministers of a rival church. The various judicatures of the kingdom still subsisted unimpaired ; and, thanks to the energy of

the great Sir Matthew Hale, who had resisted the clamours of fanaticism, the Mosaic code had not been forcibly introduced into the country, nor its ancient body of laws ignominiously banished. The municipal corporations—the pride and strength of England—had not been swept away by the revolutionary torrent. The venerable temple of the constitution, here and there mutilated and defaced, had resisted the ravages of the storm; and when its portals were thrown open for the reception of its ancient hierarchy, they could, without difficulty, renew the course of their ministrations.

What a different spectacle presented itself to Louis XVIII., when, after twenty-five years' exile, he was restored to the heritage of his fathers!

But if such was the state of laws and institutions in England, what was the condition of parties? It is truly wonderful, when we consider the fearful aberrations of the Protestant mind—the dreadful excesses of religious fanaticism—the endless strife of sects—the violence of political parties—the anarchical spirit of the Independents and the Levellers—the exaggerations of even many among the Cavaliers—and then, when we look to the concomitant convulsions of civil war, democratic license, and the military tyranny which grew out of it—it is truly wonderful, I say, that the strong practical English sense should have survived such perturbations, moral and social. Yet so it was. And this political sagacity on the one hand, and on the other, the happy preservation of England's laws, liberties, and institutions, after a rebellion which had shaken society to its foundations—these two ele-

ments insured the prosperous issue of what may be called the defensive revolution of 1688. To return to the state of parties at the accession of Charles II. to the throne.

I have already adverted to the anarchical doctrines and proceedings of the revolutionary parties. But were the Cavaliers, who were now the lords of the ascendant, free from all political error? They were, unfortunately, in too many cases, the worthy political representatives of the church of Henry VIII. Like their great Patriarch, they preached up the doctrine of passive obedience; they not only, in opposition to the majority of Catholic divines, denied to a nation the right of *physical* resistance against even the most impious and atrocious tyranny, but they denied the right of moral resistance to the iniquitous mandates of a prince,—nay, a few carried their folly and impiety so far,* as to require in such cases the obedience of the subject. See how these sectarians distorted and disfigured the great Catholic dogma of the divine origin of the civil power! see what dangerous confusion they brought into the treatment of a delicate as well as important question of social ethics! And allowing that the bulk of Cavaliers rejected these culpable exaggerations of doctrine, yet was there a wide demarcation between Anglican Toryism and Catholic Royalism.

Again, what was the conduct of these Cavaliers towards their English and Irish Catholic allies—

* Sir Robert Filmer, in his "Patriarcha," says, "a man is bound to obey the king's command against law; nay, in some cases against divine laws" (p. 100. London). Such monstrous extravagances were of course rejected by the great majority of Protestant Tories.

men who, like them, had made the noblest sacrifices in behalf of royalty, had fought and bled together with them on the same battle-field—had been for the same cause doomed to fines, imprisonment, and confiscation? Did they relax in their favour the penal code? Did they even crave the suspension of those laws in their behalf? No, the majority of them vied with the Puritans in the persecution of their Catholic fellow-subjects.

The intolerant policy recommended by most of the Royalists towards the Nonconformists was not less injurious to the interests of the monarchy, and of the Established Church, than it was repugnant to the principles of justice. Nay, the rejection of all offers of compromise made by the moderate Presbyterians was as injudicious as it was inconsistent on the part of the majority of Anglicans. For as the latter denied the divine origin of Episcopacy, and many of the former were willing to accept a sort of episcopal government as a mere ecclesiastical ordinance, the Anglican Church, by repudiating so powerful a body from her communion, weakened her own power. Indeed, the whole religious contest between that Church and the Puritans, turning, as it did, not on questions of doctrine, but on mere ritual observances, is for the frivolousness of the grounds, as well as the acrimony of the strife, unprecedented in the history of heretical sects. The Anglican minority, indeed, represented by the school of Laud, and holding the doctrine of the divine institution of Episcopacy, had a very reasonable ground for opposing the admission of Presbyterians within the pale of their church.*

* A tract published by Laud, while yet a young man,

The prince who ascended the throne of a land still quaking from a recent revolution, and so torn by religious strife and political contention, ought to have been endowed with an unwonted energy of character, and a more than ordinary share of wisdom. Charles II. possessed high natural abilities ; but unfortunately those abilities had not been cultivated by a good education. In the rambling life he had led in exile, he had contracted habits of idleness and aversion to business. Distinguished for a pleasing person and the most insinuating manners and address, and possessed withal of a natural kindliness of disposition, Charles soon won the affections of his subjects,—and, indeed, became one of the most popular monarchs that ever sat on the British throne. But unfortunately these good qualities were vitiated by habits of sensual indulgence, and of systematic dissimulation. Those hours that ought to have been devoted to the promotion of his people's welfare he squandered away in idle saunterings in the company of unworthy favourites. And while, by his scandalous amours, he increased the corruption of his times, he left unsolved all the arduous problems which devolved on the government of that day. Playing fast and loose with all political parties, ready to sacrifice the most sacred claims of justice and of honour to the fleeting interest of the moment, he betrayed in turn all friends, and earned the contempt of all men of probity.

His faithful friend and able counsellor, Clarendon, he let, in despite of his earnest remonstrances

to prove the divine origin of episcopacy, was censured by the University of Oxford, in the year 1608.

and entreaties, die in exile. And though that statesman had committed errors of judgment, and Charles had been forced by a popular outcry to dismiss him from his councils, yet nothing could palliate the injustice and ingratitude evinced by the monarch towards so meritorious a servant. What shall I say of his treatment of the unhappy victims of Oates's pretended Popish plot—men professing the faith that he secretly believed in, and of whose innocence, too, he was firmly convinced? What shall I say of those death-warrants he so cowardly signed against holy Catholic priests, whose sole crime was the exercise of their sacred ministry? What of the judicial murders of the virtuous Lord Stafford, and of the venerable Dr. Oliver Plunkett, Archbishop of Armagh?

Then, again, what indescribable meanness in his acceptance of a pension from the sovereign of a rival and often hostile state—a pension sought for less from any great political motive, than for the indulgence of his personal ease and the gratification of his own pleasures! And surely a brother like James Duke of York, who had ever been as faithful and affectionate to Charles as he had been true to his church, deserved a better requital at the hands of the monarch than a tame, dastard compliance with the clamours of that brother's foes. And surely, anxious as was Charles to uphold his brother's rights to the throne, yet nothing was so calculated to impair those rights, and endanger his succession, than the king's consent, however reluctantly yielded, to James's retirement from the council, and temporary exile from the country. A weakness of character so deplorable, while it conciliates no foes, disgusts and disheartens friends. Such weakness, as it is the

effect of selfishness, gives place on the first occasion to a violence no less reprehensible.

By the Act of Settlement, Charles II. basely sacrificed the interests of very many among the Irish Catholics—the most devoted adherents of his house and of monarchy, and rewarded with their confiscated lands the Cromwellian adventurers and settlers, whose brethren in England he at the same moment proscribed.

The two great physical scourges which visited the British capital in this reign—the plague and the fire of London—as they seemed a fearful retribution for all the innocent blood shed during the preceding hundred years, fitly symbolized the widespread corruption of the court and of the higher classes, as well as the burning rage of sectarian strife and political contention, then more fierce than ever.

The conspiracy of Russell and Sydney to bring about an insurrection in England and Scotland, in order to effect the exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne, and the still more desperate plot of baser criminals to take away the lives of the king and his brother—a plot which the former sanctioned not, but which they did not denounce—showed how ripe for revolution a party in the country still was.

During his whole reign, Charles floated indolently down the stream of time, looking only to his immediate ease, and heedless of the fearful eddies he was destined sooner or later to encounter.

In this reign the Habeas Corpus Act—that palladium of personal liberty—was passed by the legislature. The naval glory of the empire was nobly upheld; and under Charles and his successor the

commercial and colonial system of the country took an immense development.

DEATH OF CHARLES II.

On Monday, the 2nd of February, 1685, the king, after a feverish and restless night, rose at an early hour. Though the remedies administered to him were attended with partial success, it soon became evident that the hour of his dissolution was rapidly approaching.

His brother, the Duke of York, whose persecution he had sometimes weakly consented to, was in his last illness destined to be his ministering angel of consolation. James knelt down by the pillow of the sick monarch, and asked if he might send for a Catholic priest. "For God's sake do," was the king's reply; but he immediately added, "Will it not expose you to danger?" James replied, "that he cared not for the danger," and sending out a trusty messenger, shortly afterwards introduced to his majesty the Rev. Mr. Huddleston, with these words—"Sir, this worthy man comes to save your soul." The priest threw himself on his knees, and offered to the dying monarch the aid of his ministry. To his inquiries Charles replied, "that it was his desire to die in the communion of the Roman Catholic Church: that he heartily repented of all his sins, and in particular of having deferred his reconciliation to that hour: that he hoped for salvation from the merits of Christ his Saviour: that he pardoned all his enemies, asked pardon of all whom he had offended, and was in peace with all men; and that he purposed, if God should spare him, to prove the sincerity of his repentance by a thorough amend-

ment of life." The Rev. Mr. Huddleston, having heard his confession, administered to him the holy viaticum, anointed him, and retired. About two o'clock in the night, looking on the duke, who was kneeling at his bedside and kissing his hand, the monarch called him "the best of friends and brothers, desired him to forgive the harsh treatment which he had sometimes received, and prayed that God might grant him a long and prosperous reign"—words the truest which Charles had ever spoken, uttered on the threshold of that eternity, where all dissimulation is vain.

At noon on the following day, the 6th of February, 1685, the monarch calmly expired.

For this singular grace of a death-bed repentance, after a life so scandalous, I have often thought that Charles was indebted to the prayers of a holy priest whom, under peculiar circumstances, he had during his exile met with in Germany. The anecdote, with your permission, I will now state. A few years before the Restoration, Charles was on a visit to the ecclesiastical elector of Mayence. In the course of conversation the elector said to the prince, "There is in my arch-diocese a saintly priest, called Holzhauser, possessing the gifts of prophecy and miracle, and who, many years ago, and long before the event, foretold the tragic end of your royal father, and is deeply interested in English affairs: would you like to see him?" "By all means," replied Charles. The priest was accordingly sent for, and though the night was stormy, he traversed in a boat, at the risk of his life, the Rhine from Bingen to Mayence. Having been introduced to the English prince, the latter questioned him much as to the prophecy relative to his father's death. All that

passed in this secret interview, which was prolonged far into the night, is not known. But Holzhauser declared that on taking leave of the prince he invited him over to England, in case he should ever be restored to the throne of his ancestors. In reply the holy man observed, he had long burned with the desire to preach the faith in England, and that if his duty to his congregation allowed him, he would accept the invitation. Charles shook hands with him in bidding him farewell, and he in turn strongly commended to the future king the protection of his English and Irish Catholic subjects.

In a luminous commentary, which he wrote in Latin, on the Apocalypse, Holzhauser foretold the future conversion of England to the Catholic faith.

JAMES II.

It is difficult to conceive a more decided contrast than existed between the character of the deceased monarch and that of his brother, who, under the name of James II., now ascended the British throne. Charles II., as I have already observed, possessed talents of a superior kind, but which, from want of diligence, as well as of an early good education, were in a great measure useless to himself and to society. James II., with inferior abilities, was much better read, and was remarkable for his application to business. Charles, with a greater knowledge of mankind, was of a temper too easy, and too unsteady of purpose. James had a mind more contracted than dull, and, as his view of men and things was of a limited range, his temper, like that of most narrow-minded

men, was exceedingly obstinate. The former looked on dissimulation as the great engine of state policy; the latter, in all the relations of public life, carried frankness to a fault. One was the slave of sensual passion, and, after having long paltered with his conscience, found only on the verge of eternity the treasure of faith, for which he had through life secretly yearned. The other, after diligent reading and serious inquiry, received from Heaven the gift of the true faith—a gift which he clung to with singular fidelity, which he never forfeited, and for which he sacrificed an imperial crown—a sacrifice, indeed, often overlooked by historians, but which, certainly, was not forgotten by the recording angel of mercy. And though he had not always conformed his practice to his belief, though, brought up in a vicious court, he had paid a tribute to the corruption of his times, still the latter years of his life were marked by great piety. It must be acknowledged, indeed, that if the Stuarts were mostly unfortunate in life, their deaths were beyond measure blessed. Both the royal brothers were distinguished for personal bravery; and James, indeed, as admiral of the British fleet, had in several hard-fought engagements given signal proofs of courage and of skill. Yet, singular to say, when, for the dearest interests of himself, his house, his empire, his religion, and more especially of Catholic Ireland, that skill and courage were the most needed, a strange, unwonted feeling of pusillanimity came over him.

In the critical position wherein, on his accession to the throne, James was placed, what was the policy which justice and prudence dictated? what was the course to be pursued in order to conciliate the respective claims of religious parties, to insure

the stability of the throne, the quiet of the state, the interests of his own Church, the religious rights of his Catholic subjects, the toleration of the Protestant Nonconformists ?

To answer these questions, we must know what were the resources on which the king could depend. He had the hearty sympathies of the Irish people, of the bulk of Scotch Highlanders, and of the English Catholics, whose landed gentry were then far more numerous and wealthy than at the present day. He had the support, more or less cordial, of the great Tory party, then composed of the vast majority of the Anglican clergy, the by far larger portion of the aristocracy, the great mass of the country gentlemen, the universities, and a considerable body in all the other classes of society. Such were the advantages, that compensated for the difficulties of his position, when he ascended the throne. By an infatuated policy, obstinately pursued for three years, all these advantages he recklessly threw away ; he alienated the affections and lost the confidence of almost all his Protestant subjects, and drew down the disapproval of all enlightened Catholics at home and abroad.

He should have conciliated by every mark of favour the High Church party, evinced a rigid regard for the property and political privileges of the Protestant Church, abandoned, if possible, its headship to the Parliament, abstained from all interference with the Protestant Universities, been content with the quiet, unobtrusive exercise of Catholic worship, encouraged calm, amicable conferences between the Catholic clergy and the Protestant ministers, discountenanced all bribes for feigned, hypocritical conversions, satisfied the just claims of those Irish adherents who had suffered

so much for their devotedness to his dynasty, made a moderate use of the dispensing power in regard to the nomination of Catholics to civil and military situations, and, by constantly proposing to his Parliament the removal of civil disabilities from the Nonconformists as well as from the Catholics, have won the affections of the former, and strengthened the confidence of the latter.

The first parliament that met after James's coming to the throne evinced a conciliatory spirit, and granted liberal supplies. The suppression of Monmouth's rebellion, that ought to have consolidated the new government, served, by intoxicating the monarch with success, to undermine his throne. Not content with bringing the ringleader of the rebellion, who had once before been pardoned, and a few of his accomplices to condign punishment, James sent to the county, the seat of the late insurrection, judges who, by the brutality of their deportment, as well as by the number and cruelty of their sentences, brought disgrace on justice, and irritated the nation.

The removal from the Cabinet Council of Lord Rochester, a tried and faithful servant of the king, for his refusal to conform to the Catholic faith, while it proved how little James yet understood the spirit of the religion he had embraced, excited in the intensest degree the religious fears of the Protestant Tories. At the same time profligate and godless men, in order to win the favour of the deluded prince, feigned conversion to his creed. The crafty statesman, Sunderland, who somewhat later betrayed his royal master, sought by such hypocrisy to worm himself into his confidence. From the growing approximations of the Laudian school of divines to Catholic doctrine, there were

at that period many genuine conversions ; and had James pursued a more rational policy, those conversions would have been far more numerous.

The assault on the academic privileges of the universities, while in nowise conducive to the interests of the Catholic religion, cast new consternation into the Protestant mind, and arrayed a formidable host of prejudices against the monarch and his creed. A Catholic provost (Dr. Giffard) was appointed to Magdalen College, the Protestant fellows were expelled, and it was apprehended that all the other colleges of Oxford would share the same fate. These apprehensions were not, of course, allayed by the introduction into the council of a rash, weak-minded man, Father Petre, the king's confessor. Against this last step many enlightened Catholics in and out of the Privy Council had vainly protested ; and now the Head of the Catholic Church raised his warning voice. Had James resolved to blast for ever the prospects of Catholicism in these realms, he could not have pursued a policy more desperate.

The next measure of the king was the famous Declaration of liberty of conscience, whereby the execution of all the penal laws against Catholics, and against Protestant Nonconformists, was suspended. Surely nothing could be more laudable than such a scheme, and blame must attach only to the imprudent mode of carrying it into execution. The king's dispensing power had just been acknowledged by the judges as legal ; but this power had hitherto been exercised only in individual cases. But the sweeping manner in which James attempted to exert it would supersede all parliamentary legislation, and render the royal authority quite paramount. The monarch should

have bided his time, content for the present with that practical toleration which the Catholics in his empire were enjoying, and which he was anxious to extend to the Protestant dissenters. He should have remembered that in all human affairs practice precedes theory; and that before laws are formally rescinded, they mostly fall into disuse, or become practically inoperative.

But, not content with enforcing a practical religious toleration, the sovereign was anxious to gain proselytes over to his own views, and accordingly issued a proclamation, commanding the "Declaration of Indulgence," as it was called, to be read from every Protestant pulpit. Now, many of the bishops and clergy objected, on principle, to all religious toleration, even when enacted by the entire legislature; and still more must they have been opposed in this case to such a stretch of the royal prerogative. Many of the prelates, headed by Dr. Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, respectfully declined compliance with the royal mandate. They were prosecuted before the King's Bench; they were acquitted by the jury, and the news of their acquittal was received with shouts of joy, which re-echoed even to the king's camp in the vicinity of London.

This acquittal sealed the fate of James. The Whig malcontents, who had long been carrying on negotiations with the Prince of Orange, were now joined by many Tories. The English monarch had lately been somewhat estranged from Louis XIV.; or that prince, who had vainly called the attention of James to the dangerous intrigues of his son-in-law, William, would certainly have prevented the departure of the fleet of the latter from the shores of Holland. The Princess Mary had artfully

lulled her father into a false security as to the designs of her husband. Her sister Anne, on the news of William's invasion of England, fled from her father's palace. The English monarch, in an agony of grief, exclaimed, "O God, help me! for my very children desert me." A fearful Nemesis pursued those undutiful daughters; for one died early, and of the twenty-five children whom the two sisters bore, not one reached the age of majority. If their Protestant consciences would not allow them to co-operate in the designs of their father, yet at least, duty, affection, nature cried out to them not to lift up their hands against a parent.

Deserted now by all parties, and after having so long despised the counsels of his trusty Protestant advisers, as well as of the English Catholic nobility, and after having turned a deaf ear to the warnings of the Sovereign Pontiff, and even of the French monarch, who had at first encouraged him in his rash designs, James now felt himself in worse than the wonted "solitude of kings." The defection of a large body of troops under Lord Cornbury, the son of Clarendon, consummated his ruin. After the failure of his first attempt at escape from England, he succeeded in his second; and having reached the French territory, he was most hospitably received by Louis XIV., who assigned to his use the palace of St. Germain-en-Laye, which was so long to be the abode of himself and his family.

Let us now contemplate the revolution which was instrumental in the dethroning of this monarch, and see what was its peculiar character. This will lead us to consider the two classes of political revolution.

REVOLUTIONS DESTRUCTIVE, AND REVOLUTIONS DEFENSIVE.

There are revolutions which are destructive, and there are revolutions which are defensive or conservative. Those revolutions are destructive, which aim not at the reform, but the overthrow of political institutions, which set aside prescription, the guardian of public as well as private right; which substitute for existing laws abstract theories without relation to life; which trample under foot the vested rights of individuals and corporations; which array in hostility class against class; which invert the relations of the social hierarchy; which not only arbitrarily change national laws and customs, but subvert institutions inherent, if I may so speak, in humanity itself; such as royalty, necessary to the conservation of every large state; such as nobility, to be found under one form or another in every human polity. Those revolutions are destructive, which rob the people of their ancient customs and franchises, take from them their corporate rights and liberties, and leave them defenceless against the encroachments of power, subject them either to the terrorism of clubs, or the violence of the armed force. Above all, are those revolutions destructive, which assail the sacred interests of religion and morality, which encroach on the spiritual rights and jurisdiction of the Catholic Church, confiscate her property, and maltreat her priesthood; which, by the introduction of divorce, trouble and undermine the existence of the family, and, by a licentious press, poison the springs of public and private virtue.

Such to a greater or less extent were the politi-

cal revolutions that followed in the wake of the disastrous Reformation of the sixteenth century, and which were introduced either by regal despotism or by popular license. Such was that fearful Rebellion of 1640 I have already adverted to; such in a far more eminent degree was that mighty French Revolution of 1789—the most sweeping and destructive that history records; such its feeble imitations in Spain, in Portugal, in Naples, in Rome, in Piedmont, in Germany—revolutions that were checked in their bloody career partly by the energetic virtue of the people, partly by the active vigilance of Governments, partly by the fearful warnings of past experience.

Now it is time to speak of defensive revolutions.

Defensive revolutions are those, where the laws and liberties, the religious and political institutions of a nation are defended against the tyranny of the prince, or the lawlessness of the multitude. An eminent German Catholic philosopher has said, that such revolutions might with propriety be denominated political *evolutions*. And such a name might be given them, either to signify that they evolve some latent consequence of law or maxim of state, or that by them some antagonistic principle is cast out. Such were the risings of Catholics, however unsuccessful, in the North of England against the sacrilegious despotism of Henry VIII.; such the French League that, at the close of the sixteenth century, by recognizing Henry of Navarre only on the condition of his renouncing Calvinism, saved the Church of France from the perils of a Huguenot tyranny; such the noble resistance of the Brabanters and Flemings to the arbitrary encroachments of the Emperor

Joseph II. on their religion and liberties. Here we find a recognition and enforcement of a principle prevailing in the public law of those countries, that Catholicism was part and parcel of Royal legitimacy. Again, the glorious revolution that in the year 1640 was brought about by the unanimous accord of the clergy, nobility, and commons of Portugal, which achieved the expulsion of the Spaniards after their sixty years' calamitous sway, the setting up of the house of Braganza on the throne, and the re-establishment of the ancient Cortes ; this, I say, was a conservative or defensive revolution.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

The question next to be examined is whether the Revolution of 1688 were a defensive or a destructive revolution. It may be considered under two aspects. It was defensive as regards the Anglican Church and its property and privileges, and the political institutions and liberties of England ; but in regard to the religious freedom of English and Irish Catholics, it was destructive. Was it now necessary for the attainment of the objects above specified ? I think not ; but this is a question difficult to answer. Besides, in human affairs, it is not certainty, but probability, which is the mainspring of action. The Catholic League of France was not certain that Henry of Navarre, if allowed to mount the throne as a Calvinist, would abuse his power, and under the guidance of his intolerant fellow-religionists persecute the Church of God. But in the then condition of France such persecution was highly probable ; and under the sense of this probability, the League

acted accordingly. Now James II. was not only the head of England's state, but the head of her Protestant Church also ; and who can doubt that he had cruelly outraged Protestant feeling ? Who can doubt that his systematic exclusion of Protestants from the high offices of state—likely as it seemed to be perpetuated under his Catholic heir—was calculated to rouse in the highest degree the indignation of a Protestant people ? Who can doubt that his assault on the property and academic privileges of the University of Oxford was of a nature to fill with alarm the Protestant Church ? And could that alarm be allayed by the attempt to coerce the conscience of her prelates, with regard to the reading of the Declaration of Indulgence from the Protestant pulpits ? And if an *extreme* exercise of an acknowledged right be tyrannical, was not the sweeping use the sovereign made of the dispensing power in regard to the penal laws, and the pretensions he put forth as to other matters of legislation, unknown to the better periods of our history, as well as repugnant to the genius of our constitution ? And were not most of the proceedings of James as alien from the spirit of the religion he had embraced, as they were rash and absurd in themselves, and insulting to Protestant feeling and Protestant opinion ? Well, it seems scarcely fair to deny to Protestants those means of defence we claim for ourselves.

But, considering the noble cause of religious toleration which James so clumsily and unworthily defended—considering the grievances of the Nonconformists, and the many and bitter wrongs of English and Irish Catholics—would it not have been wise on the part of the great Tory

party, not to have let the last chance of conciliation pass unheeded by? Would it not have been wise on their part, who looked with coldness and distrust on the accession of William III. to the throne, who were so soon to be agitated with scruples of conscience touching their defection from the cause of royal legitimacy, and to split into the two opposite factions of Jacobites and Hanoverians,—would it not have been wise, I say, to have accepted James's repentance, proffered at the eleventh hour, to have rallied round his throne, and have come to a prudent and final settlement of affairs? Then all the political blessings which flowed from the revolution of 1688 might have been obtained without the concomitant evils. Then those excessive limitations on the royal prerogative, which are calculated to endanger the stability of the constitution, would have been obviated. Then faithful Ireland would not have been doomed to the protracted agony of a hundred years. Then the ravages of civil war would not have been carried into the peaceful glens of Scotland, nor her mountain-torrents dyed with the blood of her heroic sons. Then the mighty wars, which grew out of the Revolution, would not have convulsed and desolated Europe. The system of credit, useful within certain limits, would not have been shamefully abused, nor the fortunes of posterity mortgaged through the accumulation of an enormous debt.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1688.

Let us now analyze the constitution which sprang out of the Revolution of 1688.

As the Revolution was in most respects defen-

sive, so the constitution was not the product of arbitrary theories, but the growth and development of pre-existing institutions. The very words used to denote this Revolution and its principal acts, such as the "Revolution Settlement," "the Protestant Succession," "the Bill of Rights," show that its authors grounded their work on an historical basis, and aimed not at sweeping, unqualified change, but at the attainment of certain definite rights, and the security of certain specific interests. Who could apply the term "Revolution Settlement" to the rebellion of 1640, which overturned the monarchy and peerage, dragged the monarch to the scaffold, led to a democratic, then to a military tyranny, and confessed its own impotence by aiding (partially, at least) in a restoration? Still less could such a term be applied to the impious anarchy of 1790 and its various phases.

To begin with the lower elements of society—the municipal corporations, which had been disturbed and disorganized in the preceding reigns, were now confirmed anew, and restored to their pristine vigour. No attempt was made to introduce into these kingdoms that bureaucratic régime, which was then becoming so fashionable in Europe; but municipal self-government was, in all its integrity, maintained.

The House of Commons acquired new strength and new importance; but at the same time, as we shall presently see, it was closely united with the Upper House by a community of interests, opinions, and affections. To this sympathy, as Mr. Burke well observes, we must mainly ascribe the happy working of our constitution.

The Anglican Church retained unimpaired its

property and political privileges; and, indeed, it was in defence of these the Revolution had been partly brought about. The universities, too, preserved their autonomy, and sent their representatives to parliament. There is much truth in the severe remark of Locke, that the bench of bishops was the dead member, the *caput mortuum* of the British constitution. This is no fault of the Revolution of 1688, but is to be ascribed to the Reformation of the sixteenth century, which made these prelates not only schismatical and heretical, but Erastian, and by depriving them of sacerdotal jurisdiction, and even orders, undermined, of course, their moral and political influence.

The Middle Age had invested science with great external dignity, as it had clothed the priesthood with much political power. But now, as the principles of Protestantism developed, the two houses of Convocation, which were the political as well as the spiritual organs of the clergy, were virtually suspended; and in the course of the eighteenth century, the second order of ministry was excluded from the House of Commons. All these circumstances combined tended more and more to unspiritualize parliament, and to give to secular rank and property there too exclusive a predominance.

If now we turn to the aristocracy, we shall find that, by the way it had conducted the Revolution, it had achieved a signal triumph; and this triumph was in part owing to the unanimity of the Whig and Tory parties, which the infatuated policy of the late king had brought about. Who could have imagined that that aristocracy, which forty years before had been so humbled in the Grand Rebellion,

would now evince such unwonted energy, and assume a position so commanding? It now succeeded to many of the functions of royalty; and the latter was compelled to play a more passive part. This is one of the weak points in the constitution of 1688, which it behoves us carefully to examine.

Under the old constitution of the three estates, as we have seen, royalty had its own hereditary domains; for in the patrimonial monarchy the king was the first of independent proprietors; nor could he in the course of ages, without detriment to his dignity, lose that proprietorship. But at the Revolution of 1688, royalty was stripped of its lands, and made a pensioner on the bounty of parliament; and thus, at the caprice of a factious majority, might be starved into a surrender of its just prerogatives. Under the elder monarchy, which, more or less developed, was that of all the great European states, the king could exercise his veto freely, and could sanction or reject the laws proposed by the several estates, according as his judgment and conscience dictated. But under the new system, the ministry necessarily chosen out of the parliament, and responsible to parliament, could always oppose to the royal will the will of the parliamentary majority. Hence the veto on bills, nominally conceded to the Crown, has never since the Revolution been really exercised. Hence George II., on one occasion, truly said that, in England, the ministers were king. On this matter, Mr. Hallam, in his "Constitutional History of England," expresses himself with an amusing gravity. "What, indeed," he says, "might be effected by a king of England at once able, active, popular, and ambitious—should

such ever unfortunately appear in this country—it is not easy to predict: certainly his reign would be dangerous on one side or other to the present balance of the Constitution.”* Is it possible to pronounce a severer critique on the regal branch of our government? What sort of a constitution can that be which is unable to support a talented and energetic monarch, and for which, we are told, the firmness of a William III. was something too great? How, then, if such an ostracism be pronounced against royal talent and activity, can such a constitution be adapted (as its propagandists pretend) for all civilized states and dynasties? Must, then, in the countries blessed with such a régime, the royal family, like the peasants of Switzerland, rejoice in the birth of an *innocent*! Or must it be reserved to a committee of Whig publicists and lawyers to determine what degree of mental mediocrity and feebleness of character a constitutional throne may be safely intrusted to!

But observe, aristocracy is ever pliant, conciliatory, far-sighted, never pushes its principles to extremes, and is disposed to compromise; and this remark is particularly applicable to one so practical and prudent as the British. George the Third on one occasion told his Parliament, “If you force Mr. Fox on me, I will throw up the reins of government, and retire to Hanover.” And a Parliament, constituted as the British then was, would never have driven the Crown to such perilous straits. Not so, however, the more popular legislatures, as they are found in the modern representative systems; for democracy is rash,

* Vol. iii. p. 297.

headlong, violent, intractable, tenacious of its projects, and, in carrying them out, deaf to the voice of prudence. This, in our times, was experienced by Charles X. of France, whose conscience the Chamber of Deputies shamefully violated by calling on him, under pain of refusal of subsidies, to suppress the almost only Christian colleges in his dominions, and to limit the number of ecclesiastical vocations in the seminaries.* The Chamber was preparing fresh assaults on the royal conscience, on the Church, and the monarchy, when the king grasped his sword; and had he but waited for his African army, he would have effectually put down the revolutionary party; and then those who vanquished him would (as events subsequently proved) have hailed him as the benefactor of his country.

* Charles X. suffered much anguish of mind, and long hesitated before he signed the fatal ordinances of June, 1828. He summoned to St. Cloud a council of prelates to advise him in this difficult matter. Among the prelates were his confessor, Cardinal Latil, and Monseigneur Frayssinous, bishop of Hermopolis, who had just retired from power with M. de Villèle and his colleagues. The council declared, that looking to the extreme peril in which the monarchy was placed, and in order to avoid greater dangers to Church and State, the king might affix his signature to the ordinances in question.

Of course Charles X. took the first opportunity, which presented itself a year afterwards, of tripping up the ministry of Martignac, that, backed by the revolutionary party, had forced the fatal ordinances upon him.

The facts here related I heard at the time from an eminent Frenchman, who by his connections had access to the best sources of information.

I have a strong conviction, though resting on no positive proof, that it was the dread of a recurrence of the same mental anguish, as well as a perception of the dangers of the monarchy, which induced Charles X. to make the *coup d'état* of 1830.

Thus, then, the British aristocracy, which at the Revolution, when it dethroned the rightful monarch, had shown its wisdom by deviating as little as possible from the right line of succession, now in the century and a half which followed, soothed royalty in its humiliating position, by surrounding it with all the pomp of ceremonial, and leaving to it as much as possible an indirect power.

EFFECTS OF THAT CONSTITUTION.

Having now freely analyzed the several parts of the British Constitution of 1688, and pointed out, to the best of my ability, its many excellences and some of its defects, let me show its practical workings for the last century and a half.

It must be said, to the honour of our country, that the eighteenth century, which in other states was a period of political decline and moral degeneracy, was in Great Britain an era of freedom, prosperity, and glory.

At this epoch, and chiefly in consequence of the loss of her ancient Cortes, Spain had sunk into that political languor from which she was, at the commencement of this century, roused by the paroxysms of revolution. France was still bleeding from the long wars of Louis XIV. ; and, robbed by that monarch and Richelieu of her old political institutions, and under the exclusive guidance of a court rash, frivolous, innovating, she was soon to enter on that career of guilt and impiety which was at last to precipitate her into the abyss of revolution. Italy, contented in some of her provinces, in others sat silent and mournful amid the ruins of her glorious mediæval Republics.

Portugal, which in the last half of the seventeenth century had resumed her ancient energy, fell now by degrees into a state of too great commercial dependence on England ; and with the progress of absolutism, pined and sickened daily. In Bavaria the convocation of the States fell into disuse ; and this was the case in several of the minor German principalities. In Prussia an odious military despotism was established ; and Denmark, weary of her long revolutions, sank under the most arbitrary of governments.

At this period, when absolute power was making such progress, England stood forth with her time-honoured Constitution, the work of our Catholic forefathers ; a Constitution which had stood the brunt of ages, resisted the sapping of the Tudor despotism—the arbitrary innovations of the first Stuarts—the shocks of the Grand Rebellion. And now, though mutilated and defaced, though far below the ideal of the old Christian monarchy, the Constitution of 1688 has yet insured better than any contemporary government the union of order and freedom. Nowhere have the claims of the territorial nobility and the commercial notabilities been better adjusted ; nowhere have the aristocracy and the landed gentry been more sustained and renovated by the wealth of the trading classes, and the talents of the professional ; nowhere has personal liberty, as well as life and property, been better protected ; nowhere have the material interests of the people been better guarded, nor their practical good sense been better developed, than by our admirable municipal institutions. And under the ægis of that Constitution, and by the bravery and skill of the inhabitants of the three kingdoms, has not Great Britain pursued a

glorious career in letters, and arts, and science, and arms? Has she not on many a shore, and many a sea, waved her triumphant banners—spread the wings of her commerce to every breeze—covered the seas with her rich argosies—girdled the ocean with a long belt of naval stations—realized in her workshops the mythic marvels of Hephæstus, and far, from the rising to the setting sun, established a colossal colonial dominion, which, in the solidity as well as the variety and extent of its structure, surpasses all that the skill of the Venetians, the noble daring of the first Portuguese and Spaniards, the patient industry of the Dutch, and the brilliant but ephemeral efforts of the French had succeeded in erecting? And did she not sixty years ago scare away from her shores the fiends of anarchy, that French Jacobinism had evoked, and aid the nations of Europe to overthrow that gigantic tyranny which hestrod and crushed them? And, thanks to the better elements of that Constitution, was not the heroic Catholic people of this island sustained in its early efforts for emancipation by the genius of Burke, and the eloquence of Grattan and Plunket, and finally delivered by the energy of O'Connell? And were not thus the portals of that Constitution burst asunder, which the misguided policy of James had failed to open to this nation?

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, I will endeavour to sum up the purport of the preceding observations.

The Constitution of the three estates—the noble creation of the Catholic Church—calculated as it was to insure the rights and the interests of all

classes, was, as we have seen, arrested in its development by the Reformation of the sixteenth century. It gave place to absolute monarchy. This system of government, though in Catholic countries it was modified by many counteracting influences—by the spirit of religion, public manners, the power of the clergy, the rights of corporations, local customs and franchises, and the remnant of provincial legislatures—yet in rendering the power of the Crown too exorbitant, and in bereaving it of the active co-operation of the other orders of the state, tended to undermine its existence. By narrowing the political sphere of the aristocracy, it rendered it discontented, rash, inexperienced, prone to innovation; whilst its efficiency as the defender of royal prerogative and popular liberty was alike impaired.

After abridging the political rights of the clergy, absolute monarchy encroached on their spiritual jurisdiction; *for provincial synods and national councils, as the history of Spain and France can attest, did not long survive the suspension of Cortes and States-General.*

The administrative centralization begun by the absolutism of the eighteenth century, was consummated by the fearful revolution which marked its close. Hereby municipal institutions were gradually weakened and undermined; and the management of their local concerns being by degrees withdrawn from the people, they became ignorant and helpless in political affairs, and so fell an easy prey to the arts of revolutionary sophists.

Thus did absolute monarchy leave the forms of the states-constitution subsisting, but devoid of life and energy. The clergy still retained their

temporal possessions, and much political influence; the aristocracy their titles and wealth; the Commons their municipal property and many municipal privileges. But these orders had little or no share in the government of the realm; and royalty, like a solitary column, alone supported the superincumbent edifice of the state.

This system of government, paralyzing the members of the body politic, reduced it to a condition of languor and atony—a condition that led, by a natural reaction, to the paroxysms of revolution.

Against absolute monarchy the modern representative system has been a protest and a reaction. This system sprang out of the great French Revolution of 1789. It strove (and in this attempt it has partially succeeded) to restore to the different orders of the state that activity whereof absolutism had bereaved them. But that activity hath not been well regulated, nor hath the co-operation of powers sought to be introduced been effective and harmonious.

By the modern representative system, I understand not such purely revolutionary governments as the French Constituent Assembly of 1791, and the Spanish Cortes of 1812 and 1820; but hereby I understand those governments, like the French Charter of 1814, and the Spanish Constitution of the present day, where the monarchical and the aristocratical elements are combined with the popular.

This system has the defects of the Constitution of 1688, without its countervailing advantages. Here, as in our own Constitution, royalty is dependent on the Parliament for its very subsistence; here, too, the royal veto on the passing of laws is

more or less a virtual nullity. But this dependence is more stringent and humiliating, because the commonalty in this representative system is more powerful and arrogant; and democracy, as I have shown, is ever, in its relations with the Crown, less prudent, more jealous, more imperious, more exacting.

But this modern representative government wants the sheet-anchor of the British Constitution—the union subsisting between the Upper and the Lower Houses of Legislature—a union brought about in the manner I have before described.*

While the aristocracy is thus weakened, the municipal corporation is undermined; for, next to royalty and nobility, no object is more feared and detested by the revolutionary party than the free municipality. Administrative centralization, begun by absolutism, and consummated by the revolution of 1789, is retained in every one of these representative governments. To the many evils of that system above described, I may add that by entirely subordinating the provinces of an empire to its capital, it facilitates in a marvellous degree the enterprises of any revolutionary faction. The first demagogue or military chief who, at the head of an armed force, gets possession of the capital, is master of the state, where he can establish at his will a military or a popular tyranny.

In Spain, whose people has been well called by the Count de Maistre the most *legislative* of modern times, and where the nobility have retained their

* Since the constitutional changes of 1832, which this is not the place to characterize, this union between the House of Lords and the House of Commons is, doubtless, no longer what it once was.

possessions, the municipalities their rights; where the clergy have so nobly stood the fiery ordeal of persecution, and the immense majority of the nation have had the inestimable happiness of preserving their faith; it is to be hoped (and, indeed, it is highly probable) that their present government will, after various fluctuations, settle down into their old "*Cortes por estamentos*," or the Constitution of the three orders.

It is long, I fear, ere such a blessed consummation can be looked for in France. There, in despite of the great progress of religion, the utter godlessness and depravity of large masses in the middle and the lower classes, as well as the total destruction of the old municipal organization, and the fearful havoc made on the property and political influence of the old nobility, render for many years yet the establishment of a free and stable order of things a matter well-nigh impracticable.

Thus have I characterized the modern absolutism, the modern representative system, the British Constitution, and, lastly, the Constitution of the three estates, of which the former are respectively the remnant or the corruption.

I have shown that absolutism led to revolution; and that the representative system, though a noble effort after a better order of things, was at best but a temporary compromise between the revolution and absolutism.

But is the Constitution of 1688, which stands forth as a glorious relic of the past, calculated to insure the future safety of European nations, as well as of our own? This question, I fear, must be answered in the negative. For, firstly, not to say that it is scarcely possible to find out of Great Britain an aristocracy so strongly constituted as

our own, the parliamentary ascendancy of that aristocracy, highly useful as it has been, was propped up by means precarious and artificial—means, too, that have at last partially failed. Secondly, the excessive abridgment of the royal prerogative is calculated sooner or later to introduce dangerous perturbations into that constitution.

The States-Constitution, therefore, is the only refuge of safety for the nations of Europe. This constitution protects all interests, and guarantees all rights; it is founded in the nature of things; it is founded in the history of those nations.

To apply, however, these remarks more immediately to England—as in religion the Anglican Church facilitates more than any other Protestant communion a return to Catholic unity, so in politics the constitution of 1688 is more susceptible than any existing government of a glorious regeneration. Under the benign influence of Catholicism, our constitution will yet be restored to its pristine vigour; the bench of bishops will become a *caput vivum*, instead of what Locke called it, a *caput mortuum*; royalty will recover its proprietary rights and its effectual veto; the aristocracy will be still more honoured and respected; the commonalty, henceforth devoted to the Church, loyal to the Crown, and united and happy, will be intrusted—and most safely intrusted—with a large share of political rights. But if, unhappily, before Catholicism can gain even a partial ascendancy over the English mind, the revolutionary democracy should prevail; we may then look for a long period of anarchy and bloodshed, marked by the frightful alternations of religious fanaticism and atheistic frenzy. May the Providence that

has so long watched over our country defend us from evils so tremendous !

N.B.—For the anecdote about Holzhauser, see his life prefixed to the German Translation of his Commentary on the Apocalypse (1849).

N.B.—For the Oxford censure on Laud's early Tract, see Döllinger's Essay on the History of the Tractarian Movement, in the "Historisch-Politische Blätter" (Munich, 1844).

LECTURE VII.

 MORAL CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION
OF 1789.

I HAVE on a former occasion spoken of the different kinds of revolution—those of a conservative, and those of a destructive nature.* Those revolutions I showed to be conservative, which were achieved in defence of the religious or the civil institutions and liberties of a country; and those revolutions, on the other hand, destructive, which overthrew or assailed its religion, or produced fundamental organic changes in its laws and institutions.

The Revolution of 1789 was assuredly the most destructive that history records. After the Reformation, it is the most momentous fact,—the most awful portent of modern times. The Reformation was a purely religious revolution, which was attended but indirectly with political consequences. The Revolution of 1789 was a great politico-moral convulsion, having causes and consequences alike moral and political; bearing strong affinities to the Grand Rebellion of 1640, though infinitely more aggravated in its character, and more widely extended in its operations and its influence. All

* Vide Lecture VI.

the great problems of moral and social life were canvassed in this mighty revolution : and so an explanation of its causes and its effects would furnish much insight into all political science. It condenses within a narrow space of time the great social changes of former ages, rendering them as intense in quality as they are limited in duration. For here, within the compass of sixty or seventy years, we see the corrupt influence of the Greek sophists—the ravages of the Peloponnesian war—the struggles of the Roman patricians and plebeians—the revolt of the Gracchi—the mutual proscriptions of Marius and Sylla—the bloody contests of Pompey and Cæsar—the crafty despotism of Augustus—the menaced reign of the Prætorian guards.* What theme can be more majestic ! what more various and more extensive ! I just now said this great revolution involved all the problems of moral and social life.

First, as to religion, not only the Christian, but the heathen, knew that an atheistic nation could not exist. “One may as well attempt to build a city in the air,” says the wise Plutarch, “as found a state without religion.” But never, until 1792, had the monstrous experiment been essayed.

The great Bossuet had long ago told us that Deism was a practical Atheism, and the enlightened Christian knew that as this system rejected not only all sacrifice and sacerdotal mediation, but all public prayer, and individualized, so to speak, religion, it could not possibly bind a community together. But the utter failure of the ludicrous, as well as blasphemous, system of Theophilan-

* Vide Note in Appendix.

thropy in 1796, made this truth palpable, as it were, to mankind.

Then, again, with regard to social and political science, is there a single question which has not been mooted—a single problem whereof the solution, in one form or another, has not been attempted?

What is the origin of human society? Is it indirectly a Divine institution, or is it a mere creature of human convention? Is the civil power ordained of God, or is it a mere commission of the people, revocable at its will? Can a political constitution be struck off at a heat, or must it be the work of time? Should royalty have a share in the legislative power, or should its functions be confined solely to the executive? Should royalty hold landed estates, or be merely salaried by the Parliament? Ought a territorial nobility to exist? Should the law of primogeniture for real property exist? Should there be one, or two legislative houses? How should they be constituted, and what should be the extent of the popular suffrage? Should there be free municipalities, or should the system of administrative centralization prevail? What should be the relations between Church and State? Should the clergy enjoy spiritual independence, or in matters of discipline be subjected to the State? Should they possess landed endowments, and be admitted to political privileges and dignities, or be reduced to a mere government salary, or made dependent on the voluntary oblations of the faithful? Should they be utterly excluded from any share of political power? Should the laws recognize religion as the most sacred of institutions, or utterly ignore her existence? Should, consequently, the observance of

Sundays and of holidays be enforced by the State, or abandoned to individual caprice? Should marriage be acknowledged as a Divine sacrament, or as a mere civil contract? Should divorce be tolerated? Does the education of the child belong to the parent, or to the State? Should education be free, or be controlled by the civil power?

Again, should the press be subjected to a censorship, or should it be free? And if free, what should be the limits of that freedom? Should seditious clubs be tolerated? Should secret political societies be tolerated? Further, is the republican or the regal form of government to be preferred? What are the conditions to determine such a choice? Should the republic, if adopted, be federal, or should it be one and indivisible?

Lastly, what is the origin of property? Is it founded in the natural law, or in mere positive law? Such were the portentous magnitude and variety of the social and political questions raised by the Revolution of 1789.

Hence it is clear, that if we can give a satisfactory answer to these questions, we have obtained an immense insight into political science. In theology there is no better method of learning the doctrines of the Church, than by studying the heresies which she has condemned, and which have brought out her teaching more clearly and more forcibly. The foundations of political as of all ethical science are laid down by Revelation. The superstructure of the social edifice is abandoned to the liberty of individual opinion; but its foundations are jealously guarded by religion.

In examining this great political heresy of the French Revolution, we must see what is the teaching of the Church on the matters at issue, and

what is the share left to philosophic speculation. The Catholic who would say, "I execrate the crimes of the French Revolution—I abhor its impieties—I repudiate its Jansenism—but I hold to its political principles and measures," would be guilty, to say the least, of great rashness; for many of those principles and measures have been formally condemned by the Church, and many others are repugnant to her spirit,* and those which, for

* In the Brief of the 10th March, 1791, the Pope (Pius VI.) examined many articles of the *Civil Constitution* of the clergy. He replied to those who pretended that the Constituent Assembly had a right to pass laws in matters of church discipline, as being susceptible of change. "In the first place," said the Pope, "many of the new decrees depart from *the teaching of faith. Is not that absolute licence, which is proclaimed and exaggerated; is not that doctrine, which no longer beholds in the sovereign the minister of God himself*; is not that formal withdrawal from the authority of the Holy See; are not all these points," said the Pope, "contrary to the principles of the Catholic Church? Moreover, discipline has often an intimate connection with dogma."—(*Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique pendant le Dix-huitième Siècle*, t. iii. p. 173.)

The sacrilegious spoliation of the secular and regular clergy—the proscription of whole classes of citizens, for no other crime than their rank and status in society, are as repugnant to Catholic doctrine as to the dictates of natural equity.

The degradation of marriage to the condition of a mere civil contract, and the consequent permission of divorce, under the pretext that the State is only to regard the civil effects of marriage,—consecrated as these principles are in the legislation of revolutionary France,—are clearly contrary to Catholic dogma.

The declaration made by the Convention, that the child belongs to the State, and not to the parent, and that, consequently, the civil government may control all moral and secular education, is equally adverse to Catholic doctrine.

instance, like the abolition of the institution of nobility, cannot come under her ban, are still rejected by the universal sense and practice of mankind.

In the present lecture I shall speak of the moral causes of the Revolution of 1789 ; and in treating

The sanction given by the French revolution to secret societies—societies, indeed, out of which it sprang—militates, likewise, against the Catholic precept.

The appeal made by that revolution to the rebels of all countries—the attempt to propagate its principles by the sword—are repugnant to the maxims and the practice of the Church.

Lastly, a memorable example how contrary to the spirit and the doctrines of the Church are the political tenets of the Revolution, is shown in the condemnation of the journal called *Avenir*. The intentions of the writers were most pure, as their abilities were undoubted ; and their zeal in behalf of the truths of religion and of the rights of the clergy could not be surpassed. Yet because that journal failed to evince sufficient respect for the authority of civil rulers ; because it inculcated the expediency of tolerating all errors, in order better to promote the triumph of religion ; and because it preached up the total separation of Church and State, it was condemned by the Holy See, in the Encyclical Letter of 1832. So adverse are the *political tenets* of the French Revolution to the doctrines and the spirit of the Catholic religion.

This truth was indirectly acknowledged by the chief editor of that journal, the Abbé de la Mennais himself, who (as I know on the best authority), when on the condemnation of these opinions he stopped its publication, said to his friends, “ Well, it is all for the best ; for had the *Avenir* continued, the Catholics of France would perhaps have been induced to join with the revolutionary party.” And had he then not merely suspended the publication of this newspaper, but given in his internal adhesion to the doctrines of the Encyclical Letter, all would have been right ; but in the four years of hesitation which followed, pride, alas ! was swelling his heart and darkening his understanding, and we all know the fearful catastrophe which ensued.

this subject, the following are the topics which will successively engage our attention :—1st, the Reformation of the sixteenth century ; 2nd, the Jansenistic heresy ; 3rd, Gallicanism—whether the more moderate Gallicanism of the prelates, or the more violent one of the magistrates ; 4th, the encroachments of the state on the spiritual rights of the Church during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ; 5th, the immorality introduced at court and among the high nobility by the regent, Philip duke of Orleans ; 6th, the demoralizing effects of the financial system of the adventurer Law ; 7th, the scandals of the court of Louis XV. ; 8th, the irreligious literature and science of the last century ; 9th, the laxity of discipline that had crept into many religious communities, and the irregularities of conduct among not a few of the secular clergy ; and lastly, the great disorders introduced into public education by the suppression of the Society of Jesus.

In the next lecture the political causes of this Revolution will come under our consideration.

PROTESTANTISM.

It is in the Reformation of the sixteenth century we must look for the main cause of that great moral and political revolution that convulsed the close of the last age. The Reformation engendered first heresy, and then fanaticism, and lastly unbelief ; and those nations whom it failed to corrupt by the first two, it succeeded in contaminating by the last. In France, the Catholic Church carried on with Protestantism a death-struggle, which lasted for about sixty years. And when we consider that the greater part of the

nobility had, at one time, embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, that a portion of the clergy were very degenerate, and that a corrupt and vacillating court played fast and loose with both religious parties, we may suppose what extreme perils the true faith had to encounter. And what a bloody persecution had the Church then to endure ! How many of her ministers were slain at the altar, or forced to fly from their flocks ! How many churches were desecrated and destroyed ! How many abbeys and convents burned to the ground, and their helpless inmates cruelly insulted and put to death ! What rapine ! what havoc ! what atrocious outrages ! what cold-blooded butcheries practised on unoffending Catholics of every class !

Bergier long ago defied the Protestants to name a single city in France where, when the Huguenots had taken possession of it, the Catholic religion was not proscribed, nor her ministers put to death, or banished !

Towards the end of the sixteenth century the Church of God came out of the struggle,—victorious, indeed, but maimed and bleeding. The dragon had been conquered ; but he left behind him a brood, which was to worry her for many a long year. Jansenism was an off-shoot of the Reformation ; and the violent parliamentary Gallicanism, though it did not originate in the religious schism of the sixteenth century, was certainly affected by it.

The French Huguenots in the seventeenth century enjoyed a degree of liberty then unknown to Catholics in Protestant States, and which, even after their rebellion under Louis XIII., they did not forfeit. When, in the year 1685, Louis

XIV., unfortunately, rescinded their charter of religious freedom—the edict of Nantes—he not only committed an act of gross injustice and tyranny, but he struck a severe blow at the interests of his own Church, as well as of the French monarchy. For, on the one hand, he checked the tide of conversions then fast setting in towards Catholicism, and, on the other, he banished from his kingdom a mass of industrious artisans and brave seamen, who proceeded to man the fleets of his enemies, and to transfer to Holland, England, and Prussia, their skill and their enterprise. Then, by bereaving the Protestant people of their pastors, he disorganized their churches, and thus brought to a premature development those germs of unbelief latent in all the forms of Protestantism. Lastly, by this ordinance he exasperated his Protestant subjects at home to revolt, and to a frenzy of fanaticism that could be put down only by the cruel dragonnades; while, in their exiled fellow-religionists, he created a host of formidable enemies, who stirred up hatred to France in every Protestant court. Hence it is not surprising that the reigning Pontiff,* and many enlightened Catholics of the day, should have disapproved of the persecuting policy of the French king. “Coercion,” said the Pope, “is not the way to make Christians.” Bad laws have a more lasting effect than is commonly supposed. Though during the greater part of the eighteenth century the unjust ordinance of 1685 was no longer enforced, and the French Protestants enjoyed to a great extent practical toleration, yet such was the amount of disaffection engendered by former intolerance, that when the Revolution

* Innocent XI.

of 1789 broke out, the bulk of these religionists, contrary to their own moral and material interests, sided with the enemies of all religion and social order. They formed, indeed, not a twentieth part of the French population ; yet, congregated as they were in some cities of southern France, their political influence was more formidable than their numbers would have warranted us to suppose.

So, not only the Reformation, in its general influence on the European mind, but the French Calvinism in particular, must be looked on as no unimportant agent in bringing about the Revolution of 1789.

JANSENISM.

I now come to another moral cause of the revolution—Jansenism.

Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, in Belgium, wrote a work, entitled *Augustinus*, in which he professed to state and explain the opinions of St. Augustine touching free-will, Divine grace, and predestination. It was only after his death the work was published.

Pope Urban VIII., in 1642, issued the Bull "In Eminenti," by which he condemned this book, declaring that, to the great scandal of Catholics, and in contempt of the authority of the Holy See, it contained many propositions already anathematized by his predecessors ; for it renewed the errors of Baius. The Pope concluded with pronouncing excommunication against all who should maintain its doctrines. But the university of Louvain, backed by the archbishop of Malines, and the bishop of Ghent, obtained, by negotiations with the court of Spain, the suspension for many years of the publication of the Papal Bull. At

last, in the year 1651, that court enforced, under severe penalties, the publication of the Pontifical decree. This was then accepted by the university of Louvain, and by the entire Church of the Low Countries.

But Jansenism, stifled in the land of its birth, grew and spread, and ultimately assumed a formidable development in France. Duvergier de Hauranne, abbot of St. Cyran, in Berry, and who, during his abode at the university of Louvain, had been on intimate terms with Jansenius, became in his own country an ardent apostle of the doctrines of his master. Talented, energetic, enterprising, obstinate, he was formed to be the leader of a sect. Irreproachable in his morals, and austere in his maxims, he was shocked by many lax opinions in morality which had come into vogue, which, however, the Holy See and the bishops had condemned, and which the religious communities, some of whose members had advanced them, had rejected also. But like all innovators, the Abbé de St. Cyran must needs run into the opposite and still more dangerous extreme of a harsh rigorism in the guidance of souls. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of his convictions; and though we cannot acquit him of a spirit of culpable indocility, we must remember he died before certain questions connected with Jansenism had been finally determined by the Holy See, and therefore, had he been enlightened by those decisions, he might have renounced his errors.

He directed the consciences of the nuns of Port-Royal; and when they gave up their convent for the use of the male solitaries, he was associated with Arnauld d'Andilly, with Bignon, with Le

Maistre, and his brother De Sacy, and with Lancelot. He induced the younger, and afterwards famous, Arnauld to embrace his theological opinions. This last-named doctor, Nicole, and the great Pascal, were the brightest ornaments of the school of Port-Royal.

In the year 1652, the syndic of the Sorbonne, Dr. Cornet, extracted from the book *Augustinus*, five propositions, which contained the sum and essence of its doctrine. The Holy See, first in the Bull of Innocent X. in the year 1653, then in that of Alexander VII. in 1659, declared that these propositions were contained in the said work, and condemned them as false and heretical.

The following are the five condemned propositions:—

1. Certain precepts of God are impracticable to the just, though they seek to accomplish them according to their strength, if they have not the grace to render those commandments possible to them.

2. In the state of corrupt nature, man never resists interior grace.

3. To gain merit, or to transgress, in the state of fallen nature, man needs not a freedom exempt from necessity; a liberty free from violence suffices.

4. Some semi-Pelagians admitted that an anterior and preventive grace was necessary for every special act, even for the beginning of faith; but they erred in pretending that the human will could resist this grace, or second it.

5. It is an error on the part of the semi-Pelagians to say, that Jesus Christ died, or shed his blood, for all men.

These propositions the Jansenists, with consum-

mate art, disclaimed ; but they pretended that they were not to be found in the work of Jansenius. They raised, for the first time, the distinction between right and fact in doctrinal decisions. They said that the Church could pronounce on the truth or the falsehood of doctrines, but had not received the power to decide whether such and such doctrines were contained, or no, in such and such writings.

This was evidently to render the judgments of the Church illusory ; for, if she could combat error in the abstract only, and not in its concrete forms, how could she fulfil her mission ? How could she guard her children against false teachers, whether they enounced their errors by word or in writing ? How could the shepherds of Christ lead off their flocks from pernicious pastures ? The Holy See and the episcopate scouted with indignation the futile pretext. And the wisdom of the Church was even in this instance justified by the conduct of her opponents ; for much as the Jansenists disclaimed the five condemned propositions, they not only defended their substance, but sometimes (as on one occasion Arnauld), their very words.

It is, indeed, deeply to be regretted that the school of Port-Royal, which was distinguished for so much learning and talent, should have taken a false theological direction ; and that while its members, with one hand, rendered important services to religion, they should with another have levelled at her severe blows. From this community issued very valuable works on grammar and on logic ; while the "*Perpetuité de la Foi*," the joint production of Arnauld and Nicole, and the "*Unité de l'Eglise*," and the

“Préjugés légitimes contre les Calvinistes,” by the latter, have ever been regarded as classical writings in Catholic controversy. Arnauld was remarkable for the ardour of his character, his fertility of resources, his extent of learning, and flexibility of talent. Nicole is frequently called “Bourdaloue, minus his eloquence,” and was one of the most learned divines, and most vigorous dialecticians of his age. Need I speak of the great genius of Pascal?—a writer so versatile and so eloquent, a thinker so profound and so original, and who, after having commenced his career with the most brilliant discoveries in the mathematical and the physical sciences, closed it with those glorious Thoughts, that, like the unfinished cathedrals of the Middle Ages, still awe us by their grandeur. Unfortunately, under the inspiration of his unhappy party, he tarnished his great merits by his very unjust, however able, strictures on the illustrious Society of Jesus, and set the dangerous example of treating religious subjects in a tone of levity.*

Of these three celebrated men, Pascal died in an early stage of the controversy; and though he be obnoxious to the charge of a refractory spirit, yet, as he departed this life before his party had become a sect, we may perhaps be allowed to express the pious hope, that he did not die out of the pale of Catholic communion.† Nicole,

* In the Provincial Letters. “The whole book of the *Provinciales*,” well observes Voltaire, “went on a false foundation. The extravagant opinions of several Spanish and Flemish Jesuits were dexterously attributed to the whole society. There were Dominican and Franciscan casuists, among whom such opinions might have been disinterred also.”—*Siècle de Louis XIV.* c. xxxvi.

† Firstly, when Pascal died in the year 1662, the Bull

who had long been one of the leaders of the party, seceded from its ranks towards the close of his life. Arnauld, alas! died in the obstinate

of Urban VIII. had already, it is true, condemned the doctrines of Jansenism, and the two Bulls of Innocent X. and of Alexander VII. had confirmed that condemnation, and moreover declared the five heretical propositions to be contained in the book, *Augustinus*. These are grave facts. Yet in an affair so complicated, good faith might fall into certain misunderstandings, and require certain explanations, which the Church never refuses to give. Hence in this affair of Jansenism, the Holy See explained its doctrine by successive decrees. But in this period of the controversy, we may suppose Pascal to have been honestly deceived as to the authority of the Church *in matters of fact*. For this question was then new; and even the mind of Bossuet wavered on the subject for some years. See Döllinger's biographical sketch of Bossuet in *Kirchen-Lexicon*.

Secondly, it must be borne in mind that, in the age of Pascal, the Papal decisions did not receive in France that prompt, filial obedience which they had met with in earlier times, and which they happily obtain at the present day. A certain hesitation to know how far the Church gave them her tacit assent was then too common.

Thirdly, for many years after this philosopher's death, which occurred in 1662, Arnauld, Nicole, and other Jansenists frequented the society of the orthodox; and, indeed, the great Bossuet was on friendly terms with Arnauld. This doctor was even on one occasion consulted by the Pope.

Fourthly, in the days of Pascal, the followers of Jansenius may, I think, be characterized as a turbulent party, professing false and heretical doctrines within the Church, but which had not yet seceded from her communion, or thrown off her authority. It was only when Arnauld and his friends breaking what is called the "Peace of Pope Clement IX.," had repaired to the Low Countries, and there planted Jansenistic churches, the Jansenists became a sect. Repeated Bulls of condemnation, issued by the Sovereign Pontiffs, and accepted by the entire Church, then left no shadow of doubt as to the

profession of Jansenism, at the advanced age of eighty-two.

Quesnel, in whose arms Arnauld had expired, now

intentions of the Holy See, and of the prelates. Hence we may conclude, that in the time of this writer, the culpable indocility of the Jansenistic party had not yet hardened into formal heresy.

Dr. Döllinger, in his interesting biographical sketch of Bossuet in the Ecclesiastical Encyclopædia of Freyburg, after showing how on many occasions this great prelate reprobated the doctrines and the proceedings of the Jansenists, says that he kept on friendly terms with Arnauld, because of his excellent works against the Calvinists; and that "his treatment of the Jansenists was the milder, because it was not till after his death (in 1704), this party openly took up a schismatical position."—*Vide Kirchen-Lexicon*, art. Bossuet. Freyburg, 1848.

What were Pascal's views on the Hierarchy, is admirably expressed in a letter, which he addressed to Mademoiselle de Roannez, and where his opinion on this matter is more fully developed than in the "*Pensées*." "I commend with all my heart," says he, "the degree of zeal, which I recognize in your letter, for the union with the Pope. The Body without the Head is no more living, than the Head without the Body. Whoso separates from one or from the other, no longer belongs to Jesus Christ. I know not if there be in the Church persons more devoted to this unity of the Body, than those whom you call *marked* (*notés*). (In Faugère's new edition of the *Pensées* the word *nôtres* (our party) stands instead of *notés*.—Vol. i. p. 36, edit. Paris, 1844.) We know that all virtues, martyrdom itself, austerities, all good works are useless out of the Church, and out of communion with the Head of the Church, who is the Pope. I will never separate from his communion, at least I beg God to give me that grace, without which I should be lost, for ever lost."

In my youth I once consulted, in private conversation, the Abbé de la Mennais on this very subject of Pascal's end. Those were his glorious days of orthodoxy, when none could be more opposed than himself to the doctrines

became the leader of the party. Among other writings, he had published a work entitled "Moral Reflexions on the New Testament," a book replete with Jansenistic principles, and from which one hundred and one propositions were extracted, and condemned in the famous Bull *Unigenitus*, promulgated in the year 1713. Having been liberated from imprisonment at Brussels, he repaired to Holland, where he planted Jansenistic churches. An active intercourse was now kept up between the members of the party in that country and in France; and the French Jansenists constantly recruited the rising communities in Holland.

The Dutch government naturally encouraged the deplorable schism which had broken out among its Catholic subjects. And though the noxious plant of Jansenism was, by the revolutionary tempest of 1789, swept away from the French soil, it still, to this day, vegetates miserably in the small and decaying community of Utrecht.

of the Jansenists, whether as regarded grace, or practical morality, or the Hierarchy, or the merits of an illustrious Order. He gave the opinion I have expressed above, alleging only the first reason that has been stated. On the whole I must conclude in the words of a recent biographer of this philosopher, who judges him with great indulgence. "It is deeply to be regretted," says he, "that Pascal's submission to the Church was not complete: unfortunate prejudices misdirected his religious feelings."—*Encyclopédie Catholique*, art. Pascal, p. 621. It is but fair to add, that as Pascal blamed his friends for allowing subscription to the Formulary of Pope Alexander VII., it is always doubtful whether, had his life been prolonged, he would, like Nicole, have submitted to the final decrees of the Church.

The Jansenists refused to submit to the Bull *Unigenitus*, and appealed from the decision of the Sovereign Pontiff to that of a future council. Hence their name of "Appellants." They evinced, in their errors, a fatal spirit of consistency. As at the outset of their career, by their vain distinction between right and fact, by denying to the Church the faculty of determining whether or no certain propositions were comprised in a book, they rendered her power nugatory; so now, by appealing to an extraordinary tribunal, which could derive its force and efficacy only from the convocation and the confirmation of the Holy See, they sought to render the supreme, permanent authority in the Church null and void. Again, their practice of invoking the interference of the civil power in purely ecclesiastical matters, proves them to have been animated with the true heretical spirit. Thus, when the Sorbonne, in the year 1656, condemned the work of Arnauld on *Frequent Communion*, and excluded him, with seventy of his partisans, from the Faculty, the party brought the affair before the Parliament of Paris. And such was the ascendant they obtained over this Parliament in the last century, that we see its grave magistrates too often lend themselves as willing instruments of this religious faction for harassing and oppressing the Church.

The Jansenists who rejected the Bull *Unigenitus*, were now, as has been observed, called the Appellants, and though the authority of the Holy See and of the French bishops was supported by the government of the Regent, the Duke of Orleans, yet the party grew in strength and numbers.

For seventy years they had, by a series of subterfuges and evasions—unparalleled since the Arian heresy—sought to elude the force of ecclesiastical censures, and remain in the bosom of a Church which they so cruelly betrayed. Now, to impose on the credulity of the vulgar, they had recourse to supernatural illusions and the prestige of fictitious miracles. One of their body, the deacon of Paris, who, from his unwillingness to subscribe the Bull Unigenitus, had refused to take priestly orders, fell an early victim to his excessive austerities, and was interred in the cemetery of St. Médard. His reputation for sanctity drew the devotees of the party around his tomb: his intercession was openly invoked; reports of pretended miraculous healings were busily circulated; thousands flocked to the church-yard, till the contagious frenzy of fanaticism spread through the mass, and many were thrown into violent agitations and convulsive tremblings. Hence their name of *Convulsionnaires*. It should be observed, that these physical perturbations are one of the marks of false mysticism. Jansenism, which, in its fundamental doctrine, bore such striking resemblance to Calvinism, presents us here with another point of analogy; and it is impossible to deny the striking similarity between the *Convulsionnaires* of St. Médard and the still more fanatical *Camisards* of the Cevennes.* The Jansenistic as well as the Calvinistic enthusiasts declared themselves inspired,—pretended to the gift of prophecy, made the same abusive applica-

* For the *Camisards*, see an account in “*Mémoires pour servir à l’Histoire Ecclésiastique pendant le dix-huitième Siècle*,” tom. i. pp. 11—37. For the *Convulsionnaires*, see the same work, tom. ii. pp. 99, 115, 137.

tion of scriptural predictions, practised the same juggleries on the persons of their unhappy dupes, and exhibited the same strange contortions and phrenetic movements of the body.

These scenes of fanaticism, though repressed by the civil power, were from time to time renewed in private during the course of the last century. They brought discredit on the party, and sowed disunion in its ranks.

As time went on, it assumed an attitude of more decided hostility to the Church; and throwing more into the background its fundamental doctrine on grace, coalesced more closely with the ultra-Gallicans,* and encouraged the encroachments of the secular power on ecclesiastical discipline and jurisdiction. It numbered in its ranks a few bishops, a no inconsiderable portion of the Sorbonne, many in the secular clergy and in some of the religious orders, and a strong party in the parliaments, especially that of Paris. When, as the century advanced, the party felt its prestige and vigour waning in France, it suddenly revived in the Pistoians of Italy, and in the Febronians and Josephists of Germany, who pushed even to more fearful extremes its anti-papal doctrines. But the great bull, *Auctorem Fidei*, issued by Pope Pius VI. in 1794, gave the death-blow to the sect in France, as well as in Italy; and the revolutionary tempest then swept the lifeless corpse away.

In conclusion, if we would investigate the

* The first Jansenists were not such decided Gallicans as their successors. In the dispute on the Hierarchy, which terminated in the Declaration of 1682, Arnauld, strange to say, leaned to the side of the Holy See.

doctrinal nature, and the historical influence of Jansenism, we shall, I think, arrive at the following result. Being, in its origin, like many other heresies, a protest and a reaction against practical abuses and false opinions, it ran off, like them, into opposite excesses of doctrine. It was in its essence and in its effects nothing more nor less than a mitigated Calvinism. Though apparently assailing but one dogma, it yet shakes the whole system of Catholic belief; for such is the connection between all dogmas, and such the union between doctrine and morals, that we cannot pluck out one stone from the sacred edifice of the Church, without weakening and deranging the whole fabric. Exalting Divine grace to the prejudice of man's free will, and reducing the latter to a state of impotence, "it represents God," in the words of a great French writer, "as ever armed to punish inevitable crimes." And so it raises up a wall of separation between the creature and the Creator, and drives man either to despair, or to libertinism and unbelief. It discourages the frequentation of the sacraments, and so dries up the well-spring of all good works: it discountsenances many devotional practices sanctioned by the Church, and so checks the warm, genial outpourings of piety. Beginning in a secret distrust, and a captious opposition to ecclesiastical authority, it long strives to baulk the vigilance, and elude the censures of the Holy See and of the prelates. But when, after its endless subterfuges and evasions have been exposed, and its craft has been foiled, it feels its state of fearful isolation, it then betakes itself to all the illusions and devices of the false, heretical mysticism.

While, by its worrying attacks, it diverts the attention and energies of the French clergy from the great battle against infidelity, it forces them to a partial accommodation to its harsh, rigoristic morality. It goads on the secular power to the most violent encroachments on ecclesiastical authority, and so far promotes (though unintentionally) the efforts of unbelief, that it is not easy to discern where the influence of the one ends, and that of the other begins. After so long flattering and cajoling the temporal sovereignty in its war against the Church, it turns round on the former in the hour of adversity, and lifts up the banner of rebellion. At the close of its long career of artifice, it throws off the mask; and "in the Civil Constitution of the Clergy," which it had the chief hand in framing, it openly proclaims the principles of a schism, which is but the short prelude to the reign of atheism. "What would have been the sentiments of Arnault, Nicole, and Pascal," well observes M. Lacratelle in his "History of the French Revolution,"—"what would have been the sentiments of those distinguished men had they been present at the sittings of the Constituent Assembly of 1790, and heard the hundred Jansenist deputies, who so frequently invoked their names, while they were labouring to subvert ecclesiastical government and discipline, despoiling the Church of her sacred patrimony, and sapping the foundations of all social order?" Alas! alas! we must reply in the words of Scripture, "They who sow the winds, must reap the whirlwind."

GALLICANISM.

Gallicanism, or a spirit of quasi-independence in the Church of France, was one of the moral causes of the Revolution. There were two kinds of Gallicanism—that of the clergy, which was compatible with orthodoxy; that of the Parliaments, which, if not directly schismatical, had a strong schismatical tendency. This distinction is perpetually pointed out by the French clergy. Bossuet, in his letter to Cardinal d'Estrées, says that the bishops of France understood the liberties of the Gallican Church in a sense very different from that of the magistrates. The same distinction is made by the Abbé Fleury, who, originally bred to the bar, had a much stronger tinge of Gallicanism than the illustrious Bishop of Meaux.

Let me now trace, in as few words as possible, the history of Gallicanism.

The dogmatic inerrancy of the Chair of Peter is a doctrine clearly deducible from Scripture; and sometimes is unequivocally expressed, at other times implied, in the writings of the early Fathers, as it is formally stated in those of the mediæval doctors.

It is doubtless true, also, that the disciplinary decrees of the Holy See have been, and will be, from the Divine promises made to it, always conducive to the general well-being of the Church. But, on the other hand, a certain scope is left to the individual action of the Pontiff; and one Pope may be more zealous than another in the maintenance of discipline, and the promotion of piety. So the great Pope Nicholas V. candidly allowed, that some of his predecessors, in the fourteenth century, had stretched a long arm,—

that is to say, had made an extreme use of their pontifical prerogative—a policy which, whether in the Church or in the State, is extremely dangerous. During their abode at Avignon, the popes were involved in the greatest financial difficulties, and so were forced to draw largely on the revenues of the different national churches, and to appoint foreigners to vacant benefices. This exercise of power gave dissatisfaction, and excited a spirit of opposition. Then came the great Western Schism—the most formidable trial, perhaps, which the Church of Christ ever went through. There were disputed elections to the Chair of Peter—there were various aspirants to the great dignity—one anti-pope fulminated excommunications against another anti-pope—Christendom was divided in its obedience—the bonds of discipline and subordination were everywhere relaxed—and the temporal power made fearful inroads on the rights of the spiritual. But the Paraclete that Christ had promised should always abide with His Church, was true to her at this eventful moment. After formidable difficulties had been overcome, the great Council of Constance was held; some of the anti-popes withdrew their claims, and others were deposed; and, under the name of Martin V., the Council elected a new successor to St. Peter. But the decree as to the superiority of the General Council over the Pope, passed in the Council of Constance, was not confirmed by Pope Martin V.; and many who had pronounced that decree, regarded it as applying only to a state of schism in the Papacy, consequent on a disputed election. The sentiment, however, was taken up by some in an absolute sense, and, among others, by the French

divines Gerson, Almain, and others. In the course of the fifteenth century, the spirit of opposition to the Holy See,—occasioned partly by the calamitous events of the preceding age, partly by the growing coldness of faith and laxity of morals, partly by the disorders in the Roman court itself,—gave strength and nurture to this opinion. It was censured and repudiated by several popes, and among others by Julius II.

It was still discussed in the theological schools, and was defended by some doctors of the Sorbonne; and so, by degrees, constituted what Bossuet calls the *vetus opinio Parisiensium*.

Not to detain your attention, however, too long on this matter, I will briefly state that Pierre Pithou, a learned jurist, who had abjured Calvinism, published in the early part of the seventeenth century, a compilation called “The Liberties of the Gallican Church.” This book was condemned by an assembly of French bishops as false, scandalous, schismatical, derogatory to the rights of the Holy See and of the bishops, dangerous to faith, and so forth. The decision was confirmed by the Pope. But this book, so condemned, was but the violent expression of that Parliamentary Gallicanism, which now for two centuries, and especially during the last half of the eighteenth century, was the torment of the Church. You will please to bear in mind the distinction, already insisted on, between the Parliamentary and the Episcopal Gallicanism, for the former had no inconsiderable share in bringing about the Revolution.

In the reign of Louis XIII. a large assembly of French bishops unequivocally pronounced the infallibility of the Holy See in doctrinal decisions addressed to the whole Church. The same

opinion Cardinal Richelieu required the heterodox Richer, when he recanted various errors respecting the Papacy, to subscribe. Theses to the same effect continued to be maintained in the Sorbonne. So utterly untrue is the statement, that from the time of the Council of Constance, the dogmatic infallibility of the Holy See had been denied by the Gallican Church.

We now come to the celebrated synod of 1682. It were too long to enumerate the conflict of Louis XIV. with the Pope, or the immediate occasion of the synod in question. Suffice it to say, that because the Pontiff would not acknowledge the monarch's claim to the nomination to certain benefices, the latter became seriously irritated, and presumed to set limits to the Pontifical power. The great Bossuet seeing the extreme pride and irritation of the king, and the servile spirit of some prelates, especially the Bishop of Tournai, who seemed disposed to proceed to schismatical lengths, attempted a middle course between the doctrine of Papal infallibility and the parliamentary Gallicanism. He opened the Assembly with his sermon on the unity of the Church—a most magnificent monument of eloquence and episcopal wisdom—in which he strongly brought out the authority of the Holy See. In the spirit of compromise adverted to were drawn up under his influence the famous four propositions. The first, regarding the relations between the supreme spiritual and temporal powers, is framed in too absolute a form; but it treats of a subject which does not now immediately concern us. The other three relate to matters in the internal government of the Church, namely, the superiority of the General Council over the

Pope, and the fallibility of Papal decisions in doctrinal matters. The four propositions were declared null and void, and rejected by the Holy See. A censure was pronounced on them by a synod in Spain, and by another in Hungary. In France, also, the acts of the Assembly of 1682 encountered opposition; and it was considered intolerable that a meeting of thirty French bishops should presume to erect free opinions into dogmas, or at least to force them as such on a whole national Church. This pretension Bossuet, though clearly with great inconsistency, disclaimed, in the words "*Abeat Declaratio, quo libuerit; manet inconcussa vetus opinio Parisiensium.*"

Louis XIV. at last made his peace with the Pope, and revoked the ordinance, requiring all beneficed clergymen and doctors of theology to subscribe the Declaration of 1682. And the Pope, on his part, refused bulls of translation to all prelates who would not renounce its articles.

But this ordinance, so revoked by Louis XIV., was published anew by the Regent Philip of Orleans in 1715; and during the whole eighteenth century, doctors and professors of theology were forced to subscribe the Declaration of 1682. That document remained a formidable weapon in the hands of the Jansenists to resist pontifical and episcopal authority, and in the hands of the Parliaments to domineer over the Church. Fleury lived to confess that the *liberties* of the Gallican Church might better be called its *servitudes*;* and the great Fénélon, who always opposed Gallicanism, went so far as to say (though his words are clearly hyperbolic), that the French king was nearly as much master of the Church of France, as the

* See his *Opuscles*.

English king of the Anglican. You may conceive what a state things must have reached, before so great a prelate would have used language so strong. And he had not seen the worst: he did not live to see the scandalous violation of ecclesiastical rights; episcopal pastorals burned by the common hangman at the order of the Paris Parliament; and the same body sending forth the armed police to force the orthodox clergy to take the last sacraments to the dying Jansenists.

As to the great Bossuet, we must not judge the part he played in the Assembly of 1682 with too great severity. He had imbibed at the Sorbonne certain scholastic opinions on the hierarchy; and to prevent a schism, he stated those opinions with his wonted learning and eloquence. He had not on this matter the light of experience we now possess; he was not doomed to see the Declaration of 1682, which, with intentions of peace, he had supported, converted into an engine for the oppression of the Church; nor had he heard the strong language of animadversion regarding it employed by the Holy See. Even as it is, the "*Defensio Cleri Gallicani*," as we now possess it, is, probably, not in the form in which it last came from the hands of Bossuet. It is more than suspected, that the emendations to the work he had made in a spirit more favourable to the Papal power, were suppressed by his Jansenist nephew, the Abbé Bossuet. It is certain that a funeral oration on St. Ignatius Loyola, as well as a notice on the Formulary of Pope Alexander VII., written by this great prelate, were withdrawn from publication by the religious party to which his nephew belonged.*

* See the biographical sketch of Bossuet by Dr. Döllinger, in the *Kirchen-Lexicon* (Freyburg, 1848), tom. i.

The moral revolution in France may be said to date from the calamitous days of the regency of the Duke of Orleans. Let us now turn our attention to this period.

THE REGENCY OF PHILIP OF ORLEANS.

During the reign of Louis XIV., if there were many scandals at court, there was eminent virtue also ; a certain decorum was maintained, and vice was never allowed to stalk forth in insolent ostentation. The ranks of the laity no less than of the clergy presented an array of piety as well as of learning and genius never surpassed in the history of nations. We look over the copious and splendid literature of that reign, over its divinity, its metaphysics, its histories, its natural philosophy, its poetry, tragic and comic ; and yet how little do we find which orthodoxy and virtue can reprove. It is only now and then a low murmur of impiety reached the vigilant ear of the great Bossuet ; and it was only in the salons of Ninon de l'Enclos, an Epicurean philosophy dared to whisper its doubts. But with the regency of the Duke of Orleans, a new era commences. This Prince had been called by Louis XIV. a "*fanfaron de crimes*,"—a braggadocio of crimes, and his government inaugurates the reign of blasphemy and audacious vice.

Days, specially consecrated to religion, were selected by the Regent for the celebration of his orgies. There, surrounded by men and women of the most abandoned character, he prolonged his debaucheries far into the night, lewdness of talk, and blasphemy, and gambling, and drunkenness,

following in hideous succession. After a certain hour of the evening, the palace gates were closed; and no state affairs, however urgent and important, were allowed to interrupt the revels of the night. The scandalous example of the Court was but too faithfully followed out by the nobility of the capital; and it is to be observed that, during the whole course of the eighteenth century, the morals of the higher classes never recovered from the shock they had received under the regency.

While the Court and the high nobility thus openly trampled under foot morality and public decorum, the elevation to the episcopal office, and even the cardinalatial dignity, of the Abbé Dubois, the guilty companion and accomplice of the Regent in all his excesses, was a fresh outrage on religion. Nor was the scandal lessened by the nomination of this unworthy ecclesiastic to the archiepiscopal see of Cambrai, which the genius and the virtues of the illustrious Fénélon had just adorned. The swindling transactions of the Mississippi scheme gave another blow to public morality. The long expensive wars of Louis XIV. had greatly disordered the finances of the state. After several ineffectual attempts to restore them to order, the Scotchman, Law, proposed the establishment of a public bank, which had the effect of stimulating commerce and manufactures, and bringing large profits to the state. Had Law confined his scheme to its original proportions, and not embarrassed it with commercial operations and wild colonial projects, he would have succeeded in reducing considerably the public debt, and greatly augmenting the revenues and the resources of the country. But soon a system of

credit, which, confined within reasonable limits, would have conferred immense advantages on France, gave place to speculations of the most extravagant kind. A joint-stock company was started by Law for the cultivation and colonization of lands on the Mississippi. A general mania seized on countless individuals in the higher and middle classes for the purchase of shares in this company; these sold at an enormous premium, and were soon multiplied without limit. Speculation so wild was followed by its natural consequences; the eyes of the public were opened when too late; innumerable families were reduced to beggary, and a few only by fraud had acquired immense wealth. Landed property had in many instances changed hands; men in the pursuit of riches had lost their character, as well as fortunes; and those once steady and regular in their habits of business had been carried away by a rage for sudden gains. The man who has once become the slave of sensuality, and has given his heart up to the vice of covetousness, will soon fall an easy prey to unbelief. Such was now the case with France. The libertinism of the regency was followed by the more systematic impiety of the following reign.

THE SCANDALS OF THE COURT OF LOUIS XV.

Louis XV. had been carefully trained to the practice of religion and virtue by his preceptor, the excellent Fleury. Soon after his elevation to the throne, the monarch called to his councils this able and virtuous prelate, for whom he soon procured a cardinal's hat. Of his wise and pacific

administration, this is not yet the place to speak. During the twenty years of his ministry, he watched with a vigilant eye over the morals of his former pupil, and though he were unable to keep from Court the profligate young nobles brought up under the regency, he checked their vicious influence over the royal youth. Louis XV. was married to a Polish princess of great virtue and amiability, Maria Leczinska, and for the first fifteen years of their union his conduct to his queen was most affectionate and exemplary. But to corrupt and ambitious courtiers virtue is an object most importunate as well as odious; and they conceived the best means for undermining the influence of Cardinal Fleury, was to debauch the morals of the king, and wean his affections from his virtuous consort. By the most insidious arts they inspired him with a guilty passion for Madame de Chateauroux. At this time his Mentor, the wise Cardinal Fleury, died, at the advanced age of ninety. Alas! what a contrast is presented by the early and the later years of Louis XV! In the first, we see him practising works of piety, pure and happy in his domestic circle, following the counsels of prudence, maintaining peace with his neighbours, healing the wounds of his country, introducing economy in the administration, relieving the burdens of his people, encouraging agriculture and commerce, upholding the authority of the Holy See, and allaying dissensions in the Church of France. Then, when we turn over the page of history, and see the last thirty scandalous, disastrous years of that reign, what a feeling of pain and disappointment comes over us! When we see conjugal fidelity violated, public decorum trampled under

foot, the guilty paramours of the palace disposing of places and pensions, appointing commanders to fleets and armies, corresponding with ambassadors, patronizing the apostles of irreligion, and aiding in the persecution of admirable religious corporations ; when we see the profligate waste of the public money, and the costly gifts lavished on the objects of a criminal attachment ; when we behold the infectious atmosphere of the Court contaminating the higher and middle classes of society ;—then we involuntarily exclaim—“ Surely some heavy judgment of God impends over this dynasty and this nation ! ”

Madame de Chateauroux, Madame de Pompadour, and the profligate Madame du Barry, were the successive favourites of the voluptuous monarch. The second, the Marquise de Pompadour, exercised the greatest political power. Indeed, for twenty years she possessed such influence over the councils of France, that the virtuous empress, Maria Theresa, with the view of gaining her over to her interests, condescended to address her as *Ma bonne cousine*. She encouraged the arts, and gave the law to fashion, and was an especial protectress of the school of Voltaire. Here the scandal of this disgraceful connection was aggravated by the encouragement given to impiety ; and so by its prodigality, its sensuality, its connivance at irreligion, the Court became a triple source of ruin to the nation.

Yet Louis XV. himself never lost the faith. Not only did he assist at sermons and at the Holy Sacrifice, but whenever in the streets he encountered a priest bearing the Viaticum, he immediately alighted from his carriage, and followed the Blessed Sacrament on foot to the house of the

sick person. He had the humanity characteristic of the House of Bourbon, and frequently performed acts of charity. What a singular family is that House of Bourbon ! What extremes of vice and of virtue we encounter in its different members ! Under Louis XIV. flourished the great Dauphin, the worthy pupil of Fénélon—a model of wisdom and piety. At the corrupt court of Louis XV. was the Dauphin, a virtuous and talented prince. His son, Louis XVI., inherited his virtues, indeed, but not his ability for rule. So was unhappy France robbed, one after another, of the princes that possessed the virtue and the energy to save her !

At the very time that Louis XV. was giving such scandal to his subjects, there were French Bourbon princesses adorning the cloister by their virtues, and one of them even departed this life in the odour of sanctity.

I am now brought to the consideration of the irreligious literature of the last century ; but let us first take a glance at the Christian literature opposed to it. It was assuredly one of the greatest trials of God's Church in the last century, that the sceptre of genius should have been taken from her, and transferred to her deadliest foe—the anti-Christian sect. To whatever quarter of Europe the observer might turn his eyes, he saw, with few exceptions, this mediocrity of Catholic talent ; and this was more especially the case in France. The race of giants had departed, and one of pigmies had succeeded. The great luminaries of letters and science, theology and philosophy, that had shed such a gorgeous splendour over the reign of Louis XIV., had one by one disappeared ; and in the early part of the eighteenth century, the stars

of Cambrai and Clermont, Fénélon and Massillon, alone lingered above the horizon. This dearth of Catholic talent is in part ascribable to the suspension of the States-General; for, under that system, the favouritism, which so often conferred ecclesiastical dignities on mere rank, would not have been tolerated; and, moreover, the talents of the clergy, as well as of the laity, would have been better developed. Bergier and Bullet were among the best defenders of religion against unbelief; but they were, however, nothing more than divines of learning and solid judgment. The lively, sarcastic, and accomplished Abbé Guénéée, the author of the "*Lettres de quelques Juifs Portugais et Polonais à Monsieur Voltaire*," was perhaps, in that age, the most brilliant apologist of Revelation. The Jesuits produced some good preachers, like Père Hyde de Neuville and Père De la Rue, and judicious critics, like the writers in the *Journal de Trevoux*. The Maurist Benedictines upheld their ancient reputation as learned investigators of mediæval history, and critical annotators on the Fathers of the Church. The Fathers of the Oratory published learned and valuable critical commentaries on the Sacred Writings. The Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, founded by Louis XIV. for promoting the study of classical and oriental archæology and mediæval antiquities, was supported by distinguished Catholic laymen, as well as Benedictines. Such was the amount of Catholic talent in the France of the last century. Learning, clear, solid reasoning, critical sagacity, indeed, we find; but, with few exceptions, no flashes of wit, no fervid eloquence, no high flights of imagination, no depth of philosophical inquiry.

INFIDEL LITERATURE.

It was, on the Catholic side, pre-eminently the age of small men. France, at that period, can show no deep Christian thinker, like Cardinal Gerdil in Italy, or a Clarke and Bishop Butler in England, or an Euler in Germany. This was, indeed, the hour of darkness, and of the spirits of darkness. Let us now contemplate the Church in her long agony, which was to precede her passion. The infidel philosophy of the last age was the child of the Reformation. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, a sect of Deists had sprung up in Protestant Switzerland. As early as the reign of James I., Lord Herbert, of Cherbury, commenced that long series of English deists, consisting of Chubb, Collins, Shaftesbury, Toland, and Bolingbroke, the friend of Voltaire. Bayle, who at the commencement of the eighteenth century introduced infidelity into France, was a Protestant; and so was Rousseau, the eloquent apostle of Deism, and who did nothing more but develop the principles of Protestantism.

Voltaire and his fellow-conspirators against the Christian religion borrowed most of their weapons of warfare from the arsenal of the English deists; and the philosopher of Ferney was, in his youth, the friend and guest of Bolingbroke.

So Protestantism, which often, though falsely, taunts the Catholic Church with having given birth to unbelief, lies, itself, clearly open to that imputation. Let us now examine the character of the leaders of the great anti-Christian confederacy in France.

Bayle was a writer of great erudition, and extreme subtlety of reasoning. His "Dictionnaire

Philosophique" is even at the present day often consulted. Montesquieu, who was one of the most manly intellects of the eighteenth century, unfortunately devoted to the wretched philosophy of the day the powers which God had given him for a nobler purpose. His strong sense, indeed, and extensive learning guarded him against the wilder excesses of unbelief; but the absence of strong religious convictions left him without a compass and a chart on the wide ocean of ethical and political investigations.

Rousseau was a man of the most impassioned eloquence and vigorous reasoning; but a mind, withal, so sophistical that, according to the just observation of La Harpe, even truth itself deceives us in his writings. His firm belief in the existence of the Deity and the immortality of the soul, as well as in the necessity of virtue for a future state of happiness, and remarkable tributes to the Divinity and the blessed influences of the Christian religion, give at times to the pages of Rousseau a warmth and a splendour we rarely find in the other infidel writers of the last century.

Inferior to Rousseau in eloquence and logical power, the sophist of Ferney possessed a more various and versatile talent. Essaying philosophy and history, and poetry, tragic, comic and epic, the novel, the romance, the satire, the epigram, he directed all his powers to one infernal purpose—the spread of irreligion; and thought his labour lost, as long as Christ retained one worshipper. Unlike the more impassioned sophist of Geneva, rarely do we meet in his writings with a generous sentiment, or a tender emotion. But all that elevates and thrills humanity, the sanctities of religion, the nobleness of virtue, the purity of

the domestic hearth, the expansiveness of friendship, the generosity of patriotism, the majesty of law, were polluted by his ribald jest and fiend-like mockery. "Like those insects that corrode the roots of the most precious plants, he strives," says Count de Maistre, "to corrupt youth and women." And it is to be observed that, in despite of the great progress of religion in France within the last fifty years, though the aristocracy of French literature has long rejected the yoke of Voltaire, he still reigns in its lower walks; and the novel, and the ballad, and the satire still feel his deadly influence. The only truth which this writer did not assail, was the existence of God; but every other dogma of religion became the butt of his ridicule.

A more advanced phase of infidelity was represented by D'Alembert, Diderot, and others; they openly advocated materialism and atheism. In the *Encyclopédie* they strove to array all arts and sciences against the Christian religion. It was, indeed, a second tower of Babel, raised up by man's presumptuous impiety against God. It was a tree of knowledge without a graft from the tree of life. In mathematics and physics only did D'Alembert attain to great eminence. Diderot was a much inferior intellect that strove to make up by the phrenetic violence of his declamation for the utter hollowness of his ideas.

It was he who gave to Raynal that frothy rhetoric, and those turgid invectives against priests and kings, which the latter interwove into his history of the European settlements in the East and the West Indies.

The great Buffon, though he condescended to do homage to the miserable philosophy of his day,

yet by the nobleness of his sentiments, as well as by the majesty of his genius, often rose superior to the doctrines he professed.

Bernardin de St. Pierre was another great painter of nature. His better feelings led him at times to Christianity; but his excessive vanity drove him back to the opposite opinions.

What shall I say of the remaining wretched herd of materialists and atheists,—a Baron d'Holbach, a Helvetius, a La Mettrie, a Cabanis, and others? It has been well said by a great writer, that materialism is something below humanity. And while by debasing man to a level with the brute, it takes from him all the nobler instincts of his own nature, it fails to give him in return those of the lower animals. So deep a perversion of man's moral and intellectual being we cannot conceive. We cannot realize (and happily for us we cannot), that awful eclipse of the understanding which denies God. We have a mingled feeling of terror and of pity, when we contemplate those miserable souls that, as the great Italian poet says,* have lost the supreme intelligential bliss:—"Misere anime, ch' han perduto lo ben dello 'ntelletto." When that great idea of God is extinguished in the human mind, what remains to man? *Nature abhors a vacuum*, said the old naturalists; and with what horror then must we recoil from that void which atheism creates?—a void in the intelligence, a void in the conscience, a void in the affections, a void in nature, a void in society, a void in domestic life. The human mind is swung from its orbit; it wanders through trackless space; and the reign of chaos and old night returns.

* Dante.

What a lamentable abuse of all the noblest gifts of intellect, wit and eloquence, imagination and reasoning! and for the accomplishment of what purpose? For the overthrow of religion, natural and revealed—religion, the guide of existence, the great moral teacher, which solves all the problems of life, which tells us our origin and our destiny, our duties to our Creator and our fellow-creatures, the foundation of the family and of the state—religion, the instructress of youth, and the prop of age; the balm of hurt minds, and the moderator of human joys; which controls the passions, and yet imparts a zest to innocent pleasures; which survives the illusions of youth and the disappointments of manhood; consoles us in life, and supports us in death.

Such were the blessings that perverted genius strove to snatch from mankind. Yet the time was at hand when the proud Titans, who sought to storm Heaven, were to be driven back by the thunderbolts of Almighty wrath, and hurled down into the lowest depths of Tartarus.

But even in regard to literature and science, the influence of this infidel party was most pernicious. How could *they* understand Nature, who rested their eyes on its surface only, and never pierced to its inner depths? How could they understand the philosophy of history, who denied the providence of God, and the free will of man? How could they comprehend metaphysics, who disowned God, and knew nothing of man's origin, nor of his destiny? And was an abject materialism compatible with the aspirations of poetry? Classical philology, too, shared the fate of poetry and of history, and in education was made to give place to mathematics and the natural

sciences. Hence, from this period dates the decline of philological studies in France.

The men of genius whom infidelity could boast of, like Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Buffon, and D'Alembert, were men who had been trained up in a Christian country, had received a Christian education, and whose minds had been imbued with the doctrines and the ethics of Christianity, and had partially retained these sentiments in the midst of their unbelief. But let unbelief sink deep into a nation's mind—let it form its morals, and fashion its manners—and we shall soon see how barbarism of taste and coarseness of habits will be associated with moral depravity and mental debasement. Look at the godless literature of the French Republic from 1790 to 1802, and at that of the Empire down to 1814. What contemptible mediocrity of intellect; what wretched corruption of taste! But in the Catholic literature, which, after a long sleep, revives under Napoleon, and afterwards under the Bourbons, what fulness of life, what energy do we discover! what brilliance of fancy and fervour of feeling in Chateaubriand! what depth of thought and majesty of diction in the philosopher, De Bonald! what profound intuitions, what force and flexibility of style in the great Count de Maistre! what vigorous ratiocination, what burning eloquence in De la Mennais before his fall! what elevation of feeling and harmony of numbers in the lyric poet, Lamartine!

Except in the semi-Pantheistic school, represented by Victor Cousin and his friends, French infidelity in the present age, whether it be in literature or in philosophy, has no first-rate talent to display. Yet of this school, Jouffroy died repenting his errors, and Victor Cousin him-

self has lately returned to the bosom of the Church.

In science, indeed, the French scepticism of the present century can put forward distinguished names; but here again Catholicism has had noble representatives. Need I name the great mathematician Cauchy, and the mechanist Binet, and many other bright ornaments of science?

Let us now pass to another moral cause of the French Revolution—the scandals in the Church.

SCANDALS IN THE CHURCH.

I have no hesitation in saying, that those scandals were the exceptions, and that in the last century the conduct of the French clergy was on the whole exemplary. Let me begin with the exceptions. It is well known that a number of *tonsured* individuals bore the title of *abbé*, who, though in possession of ecclesiastical benefices, were not only not priests, but not even in minor orders. To these individuals, though belonging by birth to the Third Estate, the title of *abbé* insured admission to the highest circles of society. Hence was the title so much coveted, especially by men of letters. The conduct of these *abbés* was often most disedifying; and the scandal of their lives not unfrequently, in the estimation of the vulgar, reflected on the priesthood, to whom by profession, as well as in sentiment, they were utter strangers. Next, in order to escape the observation of friends and neighbours, a number of ecclesiastics of doubtful faith and disorderly lives thronged to the capital and the great provincial cities. Men of the world, and infidels especially, were led to place the other members of

the clerical body on a level with these outcasts of the order. There were other churchmen, again, who though not absolutely vicious, yet by their worldly and frivolous habits, gave disedification. A few had secret relations with the infidel party. The Jansenistical clergy, with incredible hypocrisy, affected still to belong to a church which condemned them; but by their fanatical behaviour, their arrogance, and their invectives against the Holy See and the Episcopate, they injured religion, and afforded much triumph to unbelievers.

Among the higher dignitaries of the Church, there were a few who neglected their dioceses, passed their time at Court, and gave themselves up entirely to a life of ambition or of ease. Others, again, remaining in their dioceses, indulged too much in worldly amusements. But here cases of irregularity of conduct were extremely rare; and it was only very few who like Loménie de Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, and Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, entered into any compact with the irreligious party.

Such were the cases of exception from the praiseworthy character of the secular priests of France. And from these exceptions must be deduced the tonsured abbés (who belonged not to the clerical order), and the Jansenists, who were condemned and excommunicated by the Church. The great bulk of the parochial clergy were men of laborious and edifying lives; and the bishops and dignitaries were usually men learned, pious, charitable, and devoted to the interests of religion.

Laxity crept into some of the religious orders also. In several, the observance of abstinence, midnight prayers, and choral services had been abolished, and banquets and concerts substituted

in their stead. Among some Benedictines and some Fathers of the Oratory, the venom of Jansenism had spread. "The Maurist Fathers," says a modern historian, "who had rendered such important services to religion and learning, gave up, in consequence of internal dissensions, their valuable labours. Twenty-eight Benedictines of St. Germain des Prés sent up to the king a petition, to be rid of their monastic habit, which, they said, rendered them ridiculous, and to be exempted from the obligation of abstinence, and of the midnight office, which, as they declared, diverted them from more useful works."*

The severer orders, like the Premonstratensians, the Carthusians, and the Trappists, remained to the last prodigies of an austere sanctity. The great Society of Jesus, as we shall presently see, retained its first fervour, and the strictness of its rule. The Lazarists, and the Congregation of St. Sulpice were most exemplary in doctrine and in morals. The female convents, as we know from history, and as I have often heard enlightened French ecclesiastics declare, remained during the whole of that corrupt period singularly free from abuses.

Such was the state of the French Church in the eighteenth century.

I will now take the liberty of citing the eloquent encomium which the illustrious Edmund Burke has pronounced on the virtues and the learning of the clergy of ancient France.

"When my occasions took me into France," says Mr. Burke, "towards the close of the late reign, the clergy, under all their forms, engaged

* Hist. Univ. vol. ix. p. 527.

a considerable part of my curiosity. So far from finding (except from one set of men, not then very numerous, though very active) the complaints and discontents against that body, which some publications had given me reason to expect, I perceived little or no public or private uneasiness on their account. On further examination, I found the clergy, in general, persons of moderate minds and decorous manners: I include the seculars and the regulars of both sexes. I had not the good fortune to know a great many of the parochial clergy; but, in general, I received a perfectly good account of their morals, and of their attention to their duties. With some of the higher clergy I had a personal acquaintance; and of the rest in that class, very good means of information. They were almost all of them persons of noble birth. They resembled others of their own rank; and where there was any difference, it was in their favour. They were more fully educated than the military noblesse; so as by no means to disgrace their profession by ignorance, or by want of fitness for the exercise of their authority. They seemed to me, beyond the clerical character, liberal and open; with the hearts of gentlemen, and men of honour; neither insolent, nor servile in their manners and conduct. They seemed rather a superior class—a set of men, amongst whom you would not be surprised to meet a *Fénélon*. I saw among the clergy in Paris (many of the description are not to be met with anywhere) men of great learning and candour, and I had reason to believe that this description was not confined to Paris. What I found in other places, I know was accidental, and therefore to be presumed a fair sample. I spent a few days in a provincial town,

where, in the absence of the bishop, I passed my evenings with three clergymen, his vicars-general, persons who would have done honour to any church. They were all well informed; two of them of deep, general, and extensive erudition, ancient and modern, oriental and western; particularly in their own profession."

Again, he says, "France, before the Revolution, had about one hundred and twenty bishops. A few of them were men of eminent sanctity and charity without limit. . . . Examples of avarice and of licentiousness may be picked out, I do not question it, by those who delight in the investigation which leads to such discoveries. A man as old as I am will not be astonished that several in every description do not lead that perfect life of self-denial, with regard to wealth or to pleasure, which is wished for by all, expected by some, and by none exacted with more rigour than by those who are the most attentive to their own interests, or the most indulgent to their own passions. When I was in France, I am certain that the number of vicious prelates was not great. Certain individuals among them, not distinguishable for the regularity of their lives, made some amends for the want of the severe virtues in their possession of the liberal, and were endowed with qualities which made them useful in the Church and State."*

Mr. Pitt and Mr. Wyndham, too, on their visits to France were struck with the singular piety, learning, and amenity of manners, that distinguished many ecclesiastics they met with. M. de

* Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*, pp. 216-17.

Tocqueville, who certainly cannot be taxed with an excessive zeal for Catholicism, has, in his very remarkable work on the ancient régime, borne ample testimony to the virtues and merits of the old clergy of his country. The same favourable impression was produced on the Protestant mind of England, by the exemplary fortitude and piety of the French emigrant priests.

The French Church of the eighteenth century could not show the great intellects that have adorned the present, such as an Abbé de la Mennais before his fall, a Père Lacordaire, a Père Ravignan, an Abbé Gerbet, now Bishop of Perpignan, a Père Gérard; but the bulk of the priesthood were then not only far more polished and refined in manners, but better informed and more learned than their successors, for they had enjoyed the advantages of a much longer training. But in the more essential qualities of unanimity of feeling, zeal in the discharge of their duties, and devotedness to the Holy See, they must yield the palm to the ecclesiastics of the present day.

There were two great events which tested the virtue of the French episcopate in the last century,—the suppression of the colleges of the Jesuits in 1763, and the civil constitution of the clergy in 1790. Every human motive of self-interest, ambition, and jealousy, must have suggested to the French prelacy a compliance with the policy of the court in regard to the Jesuits. Those measures of the king and his powerful minister, Choiseul, were, moreover, backed by most of the parliaments, by the Jansenists, by the infidel party, and even, to a certain extent, by the jealousy of other orders. In raising their voice

on behalf of an unjustly persecuted order, the bishops exposed themselves to obloquy, and even oppression; and nothing but a sense of justice, zeal for religion, love for learning and sound education, and loyalty to the Holy See, could have inspired them with such generous courage. Four bishops only subscribed the condemnation of the order; and among these was the Jansenist prelate, M. de Fitzjames.*

Thirty years afterwards, the French episcopate passes through a still severer ordeal. New ecclesiastical arrangements, incompatible with the established discipline, and derogatory to the rights and jurisdiction of the Holy See, are made by the revolutionary government. An oath to the new schismatical discipline is demanded by that government. It is condemned by the Pope; and the whole episcopal body—one hundred and thirty in number—and four only excepted, without hesitation, without seeking from Rome any compromise, rejected the obnoxious oath, thereby exposing themselves to poverty, imprisonment, exile, and even death! Such heroism surely proves that, if the French prelacy contained worldly-minded members, it was yet sound at heart. The bishops were nobly seconded by the inferior clergy; and rather than incur the guilt of schism, one hundred and thirty

* The assembly of the clergy of France, in June, 1762, declare to the king:—"Sire, in asking you to-day to preserve the Jesuits, we present to you the *unanimous wish of all the ecclesiastical provinces of your Kingdom.*"—"Memoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique pendant le 18ème, siècle," vol. ii. p. 411.

Of the four dissentient bishops, three required but a partial modification of the order, and one only condemned it. Ibid., vol. ii. p. 407.

prelates, and one hundred thousand priests, secular and regular, wandered forth into penury and exile, or pined in dungeons, or shed their blood on the scaffold. The revolutionary tempest, while it uprooted in France the stately trees of the forest, scattered to distant climes the seeds of future vegetation ; and the expulsion of the clergy, which the French Jacobins vainly hoped to be the means of exterminating the Christian religion, served only to propagate the Catholic faith in England, Germany, and America.

But though, as events proved, there were so many praiseworthy and glorious elements in the Church of France, still there were many and various abuses, that, unchecked as they were, must certainly be classed among the minor causes of the Revolution.

The contest with Jansenism, as before observed, weakened the Church of France, and prevented a concentration of her efforts against infidelity. The morose, rigid morality of Jansenism, which, in a modified form, the orthodox clergy were, by force of circumstances, compelled to adopt, disgusted men of the world with the practice of religion, and drove not a few into unbelief. The encroachments of the State fettered the wholesome spiritual action of the priesthood. The Gallicanism of the Sorbonne, and still more of the parliaments, undermined the respect of the faithful for the authority of the Holy See. The absence of eminent talent in the ranks of the Catholic clergy, occasioned partly by the abuse of church patronage, partly—as we shall later see—by the loss of old political institutions, was a sore trial and a stumbling-block to the faithful. A still greater trial was the worldly-mindedness

of certain prelates, who engaged in the amusements and political intrigues of a court life, utterly abandoned the care of their dioceses, or the scandal of priests and monks, who, frequenting the haunts of great cities, brought disgrace on their sacred calling. These vicious clerics, on the one hand, and the fanatical Jansenists, on the other, became the nucleus of that clergy called *Constitutional*, who embraced the schism of 1790, and some of whom violated their vows, and married; while others, again, threw off the yoke of Christianity, and became the guiltiest actors in some of the worst scenes of the revolution.

I now come to the last moral cause I have assigned for that revolution—the disorders introduced into public education by the suppression of the Jesuit colleges in 1763.

SUPPRESSION OF JESUIT COLLEGES.

The great Society of Jesus had been evidently raised up by Divine Providence to arrest the progress of Protestantism, and to compensate the Church for the losses she had sustained in Europe by new acquisitions in the eastern and western hemispheres.

True to this high calling, this order devotes itself to foreign and domestic missions, the education of youth, especially in the higher classes, the exercise of the sacred ministry, and the cultivation of ecclesiastical and profane learning. By their preaching and missionary labours its members convert the most obdurate sinners, bring back heretics to the Church, confirm the faith of the wavering, reform the morals of corrupt cities,

stimulate the zeal of the parochial clergy, instruct the world by an elegant literature, and by a learned and solid theology advance the interests of religion. They reform education, they win the hearts of youth, they give a better direction to classical studies, which many of the later Humanists had perverted. Co-operating with other new orders, they check the outburst of Protestantism in Italy, and roll back its turbid waters from Austria and Bavaria. They cross the ocean, and conquer new provinces to Christ; they brave perils by land, and perils by sea, and perils in the wilderness, and perils from wild beasts.

“A frame of adamant—a soul of fire—
No dangers daunt them, and no labours tire.”

Sometimes they venture in a frail canoe on the unexplored rivers of South America, not knowing whether the next quarter of an hour might not dash them down some tremendous cataract. At other times they traverse the trackless forest, threatened with death from the serpent, the wild beast, or the arrow of the fiercer savage. Again, at other times (as in Paraguay), they realize the fable of Orpheus, and by music and ecclesiastical chants charm the outcast children of Nature, kindle in their breasts the latent sparks of goodness God had fixed there, and reclaim them to humanity, civilization, and the Gospel.

Such was this celebrated Society of Jesus. In the great task of moral and intellectual regeneration, which this order accomplished, it had noble associates in the Congregation of St. Philip Neri, in the order of the Theatines, in the Congregation of St. Jerome *Æmilian*, in that of St. Calasanzio, in the newly reformed Franciscan order of the

Capuchins, in the Vincentian Lazarists, and others. It was protected and encouraged in its labours by the great prelates, who, like St. Charles Borromeo, St. Francis of Sales, and others, laboured to carry out the reforms of the Council of Trent.

But what distinguished the Society of Jesus from the old orders and the new congregations, was the amazing variety of objects it embraced, and the wonderful success which, especially in its origin, attended most of its efforts. Its members early evinced, too, a preference for the practical and the positive over the ideal and the speculative. Thus they manifested a greater predilection for polemical than for speculative theology; for moral than for dogmatic divinity; for the physical sciences rather than for metaphysics. They have ever shown a wonderful skill in the direction of souls, and a remarkable aptitude for gaining over the minds of youth to the practice of religion. This practical spirit has been, from their origin to the latest times, their abiding character.

Another characteristic (if I may be allowed to express myself in so general a way) is, that their corporate energy is on the whole more remarkable than their individual.

On its first introduction into France, this society had to encounter the hostility of the Parliaments, the opposition of the University, and the jealousy of some religious orders; but it was mostly supported by the episcopate, the court, and the nobility. It produced in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries eminent divines, preachers, literati, and scientific men; and among these I need but cite the great names of Petavius and Bourdaloue. It aided the clergy, here, as elsewhere, in the exercise of the sacred

ministry, filled the pulpits, held missions, and took so prominent a part in public education, that most of the great men in every department that adorned the reign of Louis XIV. had been trained up in its colleges. It carried on an unrelenting war with Jansenism—a war that was protracted far into the eighteenth century.

In that age we discern in this society the same absence of eminent talent, as in the secular clergy and most of the other religious orders. Its great men, too, had vanished at the dawn of that inauspicious century.

We now come to the sad history of the suppression of the order. The story is well known, and my limits will not allow me to do more than advert to it. The infidel party in Europe was the well-known author of this work of destruction, in which it was but too well seconded by the Jansenists. The first blow was struck in Portugal in the year 1752. The tyrannical minister, Pombal, in despite of the clearest evidence to the contrary, feigned a conspiracy on the part of the Jesuits against the king's life, accused, among others, one who was then actually confined to his bed in an asylum, instituted an arbitrary State-Inquisition, which, on the most ridiculous charges, imprisoned many of these religious, and executed some others. The property of the whole order in Portugal was confiscated, and its members cast upon the shores of the Papal States.

Measures of equal rigour against the society were adopted in the Portuguese colonies. Several bishops and members of other religious orders were involved in this cruel persecution; and the most audacious encroachments on episcopal rights and ecclesiastical discipline were perpetrated.

Here we see realized the truth of those words of Scripture, "When one member suffereth, all suffer."

Nor was the oppression confined to the Church. Many nobles, too, suffered imprisonment and exile; their property was confiscated, and all entails abolished. So sure is it that tyranny exercised against the Church will affect the State also. These two great Corporations have so many points of contact, that their interests cannot be wholly dissevered. The despotism, political as well as ecclesiastical, of Pombal was a worthy prelude to that of the revolutionary Cortes of 1820.

In France the infidel party was indefatigable in its manœuvres to accomplish the ruin of the Jesuits. Ridicule, calumnies, cabals, the agency of secret societies, court intrigues, they left nothing untried to bring about their infernal purpose. They well knew that in destroying this religious corporation they destroyed one of the chief bulwarks of religion in France. They were too well seconded by the Parliaments, many of whose magistrates were Jansenists, and others, though sincere Catholics, suffered themselves to be carried away by the fanatical passions and prejudices of their colleagues. Their accusations against the Jesuits were as ridiculous and self-contradictory as they were atrocious. The minister Choiseul was an adept of the irreligious faction. His insidious charges against the order were for a long time unheeded by Louis XV., who was supported in a just policy by the Dauphin, the friend and protector of these religious. At last the guilty Pompadour played in this matter a part truly worthy of herself. Her Jesuit confessor having refused her absolution, unless she quitted

the Court, she turned her whole vengeance against the order, vowed its destruction, and to that effect exerted her mischievous fascination over the infatuated king.

In 1763 was issued at last the Royal edict, suppressing the colleges of the society, confiscating its property, and assigning a pension to its individual members. They were not banished from France, as they had been from Spain and Portugal; but though incapacitated for holding schools and colleges, they were allowed to preach and exercise other ecclesiastical functions.

This exclusion of the Jesuits from public education was a fearful blow to religion. In the early part of the last century, they possessed in France, both for their own sakes and that of the public, too many colleges. For in the former case, this excessive preponderance in public education was calculated to awaken jealousy; and in the latter case it prevented a wholesome competition. Hence the suppression of their schools left an immense void in public education. Their place was now filled up by irreligious laymen, or by the members of a certain regular Congregation, well known for its attachment to Jansenism.

It has been said, that the men who acted so fearful a part in the bloody scenes of the revolution, had been educated by the Jesuits. This is quite untrue, as a simple calculation will show. For the men who, at the age of eighteen or twenty, had completed their studies in 1763, the year in which those colleges were suppressed, must have attained the age of fifty in 1793. Now, the men who took a prominent part in the atrocious scenes adverted to were mostly between twenty and forty years of age. Few, comparatively, were turned of

fifty. And even if the pupils of the Jesuits had forgotten the lessons of piety they had learned, and even abandoned their religion, how could the order be responsible for the behaviour of lay students, who left them at the ages of eighteen and twenty. The France of that day, as well as other countries since that time, felt the want of good religious universities, that would have carried on the training of youth to the age of three or four and twenty—an age, after which, if a young man has been well furnished with religious and secular knowledge, he is found, as the great Père Lacordaire well observes, rarely to lose the gift of faith. The abuse of university education has been attended with very great evils to religion; but the absence of university education has certainly not tended to advance her interests.

The French bishops, as we have seen, with but four exceptions, pronounced a warm eulogium on the order, and petitioned the king that it might be allowed to retain its colleges. Pope Clement XIV., when, ten years later, overpowered by the demands of most of the Catholic princes, he reluctantly suppressed the society, rendered full homage to the virtues of its members, and the immense services they had rendered to religion and learning.

The suppression of the Society of Jesus was everywhere accompanied with attacks on other religious orders, with encroachments on episcopal jurisdiction, and even with revolutionary changes in society. It was an anticipation of the fearful commotions that were to convulse the close of the eighteenth century.

As we approach the awful tempest that is to close that century, how the soil heaves beneath

our feet!—how quick and vivid flash the subterranean lightnings!—how dense and sultry becomes the air!—and how distinctly are heard the mutterings of the distant thunder!

The event I have been speaking of, and which was attended with effects, partly ecclesiastical, partly political, leads me to the second division of my subject—the *political* causes of the revolution of 1789.

What were the elements of good and of evil in the ancient monarchy of France? How far had it departed from the type of the old Christian state? How could the revolution of 1789 have been averted? What points of analogy and of contact subsisted between the Absolutism of the eighteenth century and the revolutionary Democracy that convulsed its close?

These are the questions which, with your permission, I will discuss on the next occasion I have the honour of meeting you.

LECTURE VIII.

POLITICAL CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1789.

HAVING in a preceding lecture spoken of the moral causes of the Revolution of 1789, I now proceed to consider the political causes of that great event.

In the execution of this task, I shall give an outline of the Constitution of ancient France, beginning with the crown, and its judicial and administrative functionaries; then describe in succession the three orders composing the State,—the clergy, the nobility, and the commons,—noticing the changes which in the century and a half preceding the Revolution, had been gradually brought about in their rights and liberties. I shall then enlarge on the system of administrative centralization, established by Cardinal Richelieu, continued by Louis XIV., and fearfully developed in the course of the eighteenth century. The material condition of the various classes, and more especially that of the peasantry, will next engage our attention. The different systems of political economy, the administration of Turgot, and the revolutionary views of certain publicists, will then come under review. Lastly, I shall conclude with an inquiry into some special abuses in the ancient government of France, and certain unjust and

unwise measures of the old court, as well as the disorder in the public finances.

POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF ANCIENT FRANCE.

The French monarchy was hereditary in the male line. The three orders of the state consisted, as in other European kingdoms, of the clergy, the nobility, and the third estate. The States-General, in which these orders sat, and which had formerly been periodically convened, had unfortunately, since 1614, been suspended. Besides the States-General, there were States-Provincial. The provinces, where these were regularly convoked, were called the *pays d'états*, and those which were governed solely by royal functionaries, were called *pays d'élection*.

The former constituted a third, and the latter two-thirds of the entire kingdom. Languedoc, Provence, Bourgogne, Béarn, Comté de Foix, Brétagne, Franche-Comté, and Lorraine, were the chief provinces among the *pays d'état*. These, as we shall presently see, were in point of material prosperity, as well as of the public spirit and energy of their inhabitants, far superior to the *pays d'élection*. The royal governor in all the provinces was called intendant, and in the eighteenth century the functions he had gradually usurped, likened him considerably to a prefect of the present day. In the *pays d'élection*, the taxes were generally farmed out, and those to whom they were farmed out were called farmers-general of the finances.

But in the *pays d'état*, the taxes were levied and assessed by the states-provincial. The royal council of state presided over the whole adminis-

tration. It exercised in some cases an appellate jurisdiction. It also prepared and drew up the more important ordinances and edicts of the king. The courts of justice were called parliaments, and were fourteen in number; whereof that of Paris had by far the most extensive jurisdiction. Of the judges called by the general name of *magistrats*, and who belonged in part to the nobility, in part to the third estate, I shall soon have occasion to speak.

The French provinces were not regulated by an uniform code; some, like those of the south, had a written jurisprudence, chiefly derived from the Roman; others were ruled by customary laws, which varied much in different districts. The various cities of the kingdom had also their own special laws and customs; and even in the names of city magistrates there was great diversity.

This diversity will always subsist, where laws are the spontaneous growth of time, and not the artificial contrivance of a single lawgiver. Carried to excess, this diversity is attended with considerable inconvenience, and must sooner or later be the subject of reform. But the opposite mania for codification entails evils of considerable magnitude.

Having now spoken of the legal and judicial organization of ancient France, I turn to consider the constitution of the different orders composing the monarchy, and naturally commence with the clerical body.

THE CLERICAL ORDER.

The clergy in that country, as in all other European states, subsisted by tithes and landed endowments. Their annual revenues amounted to about

eighty million francs, whereof about eleven million they gave annually to the government, by a voluntary grant. In times of difficulty their grants rose to double the amount stated.

The clergy, like the nobility, were subject to all *indirect* taxes; but except in the conquered provinces, they paid no direct imposts. The free grants I have just spoken of supplied the place. They were the first order in the States-General and the States-Provincial, deliberating and voting separately from the other two—the nobility and the commons.

Under the old system of States-General, the bishops, as prelates of the Church, as large landed proprietors, and as lawgivers, exerted an immense power; and down to the Revolution of 1789, their influence in those provinces, which were fortunate enough to retain their local legislatures, was considerable. And how beneficial was that influence M. de Tocqueville will tell us.

Speaking of the States-Provincial of Languedoc, he says, in his very remarkable work on the *ancien régime*, “The clergy, for their part, though composed in a great measure of nobles, there lived on a perfect understanding with the third estate. They entered with enthusiasm into all its projects, strove in concert with that body to augment the material prosperity of all citizens, and to promote their trade and industry, placing at their service their great knowledge of men and their rare skill in the management of affairs. It was almost always an ecclesiastic that was deputed by the States to Versailles, there to discuss with the ministers the matters contested between them and the Crown. It may be safely affirmed that during the whole of the last century the province of Languedoc was adminis-

tered by commoners, controlled by nobles, and aided by bishops.”*

So far M. de Tocqueville.

Hence we see how deeply interested were the prelates in the maintenance and extension of States-Provincial, which opened so wide a field to their patriotic efforts, and consequently enlarged the sphere of their spiritual influence. The priest is instinctively a statesman. The greatest ministers of modern Europe have been members of the clerical body; and so it is not surprising that in these provincial states the bishops should have evinced so much talent in the handling of political affairs.

Of the learning and virtues of the French clergy I had occasion to speak in my last lecture.

THE NOBILITY.

I now pass to the nobility.

The nobility was the second order in the constitution. There were various kinds of nobility: the *noblesse de la cour*—the *noblesse de province*—the *noblesse de l'épée*—and the *noblesse de la robe*. The *ducs et pairs* were at the head of the *noblesse*, and sat on great occasions in the parliaments or courts of justice. They constituted the high aristocracy in France. All the members of a family were ennobled; and owing to this circumstance, the younger sons could not assimilate so easily with the middle classes in the learned professions, and many of them in consequence languished in poverty.

The nobility usually filled the highest places in

* De l'Ancien Régime, p. 362.

the army and navy, and very many held the first dignities in the Church, as well as in the magistracy. They were constantly reinforced by members of the third estate, who, either by virtue of signal services to the monarchy, or by favour, or by purchase from the Crown, or by the acquisition of lands to which titles were annexed, were raised to the rank of nobility. Between the *ennoblis* as they were called, or the recently ennobled, and the old *noblesse*, there was often much jealousy and strife. But such jealousies are incident to human nature; they are found to a greater or less extent in all countries; and had the States-General been preserved, or even the States-Provincial been in more general force, such contentions would have been far more rare, and been attended with less inconvenience and danger. Yet it cannot be doubted that this perpetual renovation out of the body of the commons was extremely beneficial to the *noblesse*.

The fatal system introduced by Richelieu and Louis XIV., of undermining the local influence of the nobles, and attracting them to the court, was attended with the most baleful consequences. First, this constant residence at court was detrimental to their fortunes; next, it exposed their virtue to the greatest dangers; then, it took from them that manly independence of character so becoming to an aristocracy; and, lastly, it led to the neglect, moral and material, of the peasantry, and to the utter loss of the landlord's social influence.

A portion of the *noblesse*, partly from patriotism, partly from poverty, resided on their estates; and this was particularly the case in Brittany, Lower Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Poitou. Of what immense benefit such a residence was to them-

selves, to their tenants, and to society at large, was strikingly evinced at the breaking out of the Revolution. In those western provinces precisely it was that religion, royalty, and freedom found such heroic defenders. There, high and low, nobles and peasants, fought banded together against an impious tyranny *pro aris et focis*, for their altars and their homesteads, their king and their country. While the once grand *seigneurs* of Versailles were now compelled to fly from their burning castles to seek refuge on a foreign soil, the simple country gentlemen of Poitou, Anjou, Maine, and Brittany, whom the former had been wont to turn into ridicule, were leading on their brave peasants to battle against the Revolution. This memorable example should teach us how fatal to nobility is the abandonment of its estates, and the consequent neglect of its tenantry.

In those provinces called *pays d'états*, the nobles had a fitting sphere for the exercise of their talents and their patriotism. Hereby they were more retained on their properties; they were better initiated into public affairs, and trained to the management of business; and thus they became more public-spirited, as well as intelligent. Further (and this is extremely worthy of attention), in those provinces possessed of local legislatures, the nobles lived on a more cordial understanding with the members of the third estate. "In Languedoc, more than elsewhere," says M. de Tocqueville, "the various classes of society mingled together, and were on the footing of the most perfect equality."* Again, in another part of his very remarkable work he says, "What particularly

* De l'Ancien Régime, p. 361.

strikes us in the States-General of the fourteenth century, is to see how the nobility and the third estate find it more easy to carry on public affairs together, or to offer a common resistance to power, than they have ever done since that time. This is observable, not only in the States-General of the fourteenth century (many whereof had an irregular and revolutionary character, from the misfortunes of the time), but in the Provincial States also, of the same period, where there is nothing to show that affairs did not follow their regular and habitual course.”*

So far this judicious writer. In those provinces, on the other hand, called *pays d'élection*, which had lost their local legislatures, the *seigneur* was merely looked upon by the government as the *premier habitant*—the chief inhabitant of the district. Without much political importance in his province, overlooked by the government, and except (as proprietor) exercising little influence over the people, the nobleman felt himself wounded in his pride, and sought by a spirit of exclusiveness in social life, and by exorbitant pretensions of rank, to indemnify himself for the substantial power he had lost. Whenever an aristocracy is withdrawn from its sphere of local influence, reduced to be a puppet in the pageantries of a court, and bereaved of legislative authority, then, on the one hand, it becomes pretentious, arrogant, frivolous, exclusive in its matrimonial alliances, and, on the other, declines in capacity and in wealth. This truth, the history not of France only, but of Spain and of some other countries for the last two centuries fully shows.

* De l'Ancien Régime, p. 15.

As to the moral conduct of the high court nobility, it had been becoming, as we have seen, more and more depraved from the time of the Regency. During the licentious reign of Louis XV. this corruption attained to a fearful height; and in many instances it was further aggravated by unbelief. Many a noble entertained at his table the apostles and proselytes of infidelity, and encouraged their sophistic and blasphemous talk. Such infatuation on the part of those most interested in the preservation of that public order which insures the rights of property and of birth, and which religion can alone uphold, seems inconceivable.

Strange, indeed ! but the fanaticism of opinion is often found to be stronger than the claims of self-interest itself; and under absolute monarchy (as we shall later see), the conservative instincts of aristocracy were blunted and deadened. Some of these nobles, indeed, patronized infidelity more from fashion than from conviction. But at this corrupt court there were some, like the friends of the Dauphin, who were distinguished for piety and virtue. In the provincial *noblesse*, or country gentlemen, such examples were far more frequent and striking; and the glorious names of Lescure, La Rochejacquelein, and others in the Vendean civil war, may show what models of Christian heroism were to be found in the ranks of that body. Under a better system of government the moral and intellectual energies of the French nobility would have been far better developed, and would have redounded to their own glory, as well as to the advantage of society.

Before I take leave of this order, I must notice its privileges and those of the clergy in regard

to taxation ; and here I will take the liberty of citing a passage from Burke's "Reflections on the French Revolution."

"Perhaps persons unacquainted with the state of France," says this great writer, "on hearing the clergy and the *noblesse* were privileged in point of taxation, may be led to imagine that previous to the Revolution these bodies had contributed nothing to the state. This is a great mistake. They certainly did not contribute equally with each other, nor either of them equally with the commons. They both, however, contributed largely. Neither nobility nor clergy enjoyed any exemption from the excise on consumable commodities, from duties of custom, or from any of the other numerous *indirect* impositions which, in France as well as here, make so very large a proportion of all payments to the public. The *noblesse* paid the capitation. They paid also a land-tax, called the twentieth penny, to the height sometimes of three, sometimes of four shillings in the pound, both of them *direct* impositions of no light nature and no trivial produce.

"The clergy of the provinces annexed by conquest to France, (which in extent make about an eighth part of the whole, but in wealth a much larger proportion), paid likewise to the capitation and the twentieth penny at the rate paid by the nobility. The clergy in the old provinces did not pay the capitation ; but they had redeemed themselves at the expense of about twenty-four million francs, or a little more than a million sterling. They were exempted from the twentieths ; but then they made free gifts. They contracted debts for the state, and they were subject to some other charges, the whole computed at about a

thirteenth part of their clear income. They ought to have paid annually about forty thousand pounds more, to put them on a par with the contribution of the nobility.

“When the terrors of this tremendous proscription hung over the clergy, they made an offer of a contribution through the Archbishop of Aix, which for its extravagance ought not to have been accepted.”*

THE THIRD ESTATE.

The third estate now claims our consideration. It consisted of the members of the legal and medical professions, the men of letters and science, the merchants, master-manufacturers, the non-noble landed proprietors, the farmers-general and other government contractors, and the various civil functionaries. The third estate had, in the course of a century and a half, by its wealth and intelligence risen to considerable influence. While the high functionaries of the law enjoyed in France a consideration not surpassed in any country, the members of the bar did not hold a position equal to their great importance. On the other hand, men of letters and science were far more highly considered than in England at that time, or even perhaps at the present day.

The French magistrates formed an intermediate link between the *noblesse* and the third estate; some, indeed, were of noble origin, while others were sprung from the class of burgesses; but all held in the political, as well as the judicial order

* Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*, pp. 222, 223.

of things, a most eminent position. Many of them, even down to a late period, were remarkable for their austere piety, unsullied integrity, and the faithful discharge of their weighty duties. Many, too, were oracles of legal learning; and the wisdom as well as the equity of their judicial sentences was revered far and near. They gave several eminent statesmen to France, and many a bright ornament to letters and science. What shall I say of the Talons, the Le Telliers, the Pothiers, the D'Aguesseaus,—men who, by their virtues, their dignity of character, their forensic learning, and general acquirements, shed lustre on their noble profession? In later times, indeed, many of this body fell under the influence of Jansenism, and those who were not followers of that sect, yet, by an *esprit de corps*, were drawn into a violent opposition to the Church. The provincial parliaments were much freer than that of Paris from a factious and sectarian spirit; and several of those parliaments refused, for example, to concur in the iniquitous persecution raised against the Jesuits.

Though the administration of justice on the part of these magistrates was most pure, yet, in its criminal branch was it often characterized by great harshness. Burke observes, that in no country were life and property better protected than in ancient France.

After undergoing a legal examination, these magistrates were allowed to purchase their several offices; and thus they were irremovable, and became independent of the Crown. This independence, joined to their great probity, gave weight to their judgments, and even insured them no little political influence.

As the *gens de loi*—the men of the law—they had the right, prior to the registration of any royal ordinance, to protest or remonstrate against the *illegality of its form*. This right they stretched to one of remonstrance as to the *spirit* of an edict; and so they gradually usurped a sort of legislative power in the kingdom. During the suspension of the States-General, since the year 1614, this exercise of an usurped authority often proved beneficial to the state. But it was, at best, an anomalous power, too often exercised in the spirit of a contentious, narrow-minded legality, and latterly perverted to the purposes of a sect and a faction. Not only did the magistrates in the last century too often abuse their powers, to the detriment of the Church, but they even evinced a factious opposition to wise measures brought forward by the Crown.

When the king enforced the registration of an ordinance, in despite of the remonstrances of the parliament, he was said to hold a bed of justice,—*un lit de justice*.

Of the literate and scientific class, whether infidel or Catholic, I have already had occasion to speak, and so I will not revert to the subject. The government, especially that of Louis XVI., afforded the greatest encouragement to letters, and particularly to science; it gave pensions to their eminent professors, and set on foot voyages of discovery.

As to merchants and manufacturers, they rose during the eighteenth century in wealth and importance; and in the reign of Louis XVI. they had attained to the *acme* of their prosperity. France had immensely extended her maritime commerce. The city of Bordeaux employed three

hundred vessels in the trade with Africa and America, and covered an expenditure of fifty-two million francs, with profits amounting to eighty-eight millions. In the single year 1788 the city of Nantes, which had received colonial commodities to the value of two hundred million francs, made a profit of forty millions.* The trade with the single island of St. Domingo maintained sixteen hundred vessels and twenty-seven thousand sailors. The exports of France to the Spanish and French portions of St. Domingo in 1789 amounted to no less than £10,000,000 sterling; while those of Great Britain to all her West-India islands put together in 1842 were only £3,600,000.† The commerce with the Levant by Marseilles was something enormous.‡

France then possessed fifteen colonies, more or less flourishing.

Domestic manufactures, too, enjoyed a high degree of prosperity. The fair of the city of Beaucaire§ passed for a European market. "The commercial marine of France," says Sir Archibald Alison, "was second only to that of Great Britain, and her warlike navy, as the American war proved, was almost on a level, for the first time in history, with that of her great antagonist."||

* For these details, see Höfler's "Manual of Universal History," vol. III. part ii. p. 454. (In German).

† *Vide* Alison's History, vol. I.

‡ "From 1780 to 1792," says a writer in the "Encyclopédie Catholique," "the trade of Marseilles took an immense development. Its population during that period rose to 140,000 souls. In 1792, 2,440 vessels carried on the trade of its port." (Encyclopédie Cathol. t. xv. p. 568.) All this commercial prosperity the Revolution destroyed.

§ *Vide* Dict. Géog. par M. Bouillet, t. i. p. 451. Bruxelles, 1855.

|| *Vide* Alison, vol. I. pp. 165, 166.

Every encouragement was given by the government, and by private agricultural societies, towards the promotion of husbandry. The construction of new roads and new canals favoured inland communication. The seaports were enlarged and fortified; the capital and the country towns extended and embellished.

The provincial cities in the *pays d'état* were often the seats of a local legislature, consisting of clergy, nobles, and commons; of a parliament, or a high court of judicature; and of a literary academy. They displayed a life, a stir, a commercial opulence, a municipal as well as intellectual energy, and an aristocratic elegance and refinement, which we should in vain look for in any provincial city of modern France. In the capital of one of these ancient *pays d'états*, namely Pau, in Bearn, I myself once passed a year; and I recollect the old people telling me how much the city had fallen off from the times they remembered, anterior to the Revolution.*

ADMINISTRATIVE CENTRALIZATION.

Yet, under the ancient *régime*, during the eighteenth century, the fatal system of administrative centralization, as was before remarked, was making steady progress; it was undermining the constitution of the province, the city, and the village, detaching classes one from the other, effacing old associations, and breaking up all the wholesome influences of rank and property, per-

* The reader will find some interesting details on the French provinces in the last century in M. Th. Foisset's elegant work, "Le Président de Broches, ou les Parlemens au dixhuitième Siècle." Paris, 1842.

sonal talent and experience, spiritual power and civil magistracy. The class of functionaries, which this system brings forth, and which were then in the process of formation, have since the Revolution attained to a formidable power, both in France and in Germany. While they unduly extend the power of the Crown, these officials have no devotion to royalty; they bear a mortal hatred to nobility; whose functions they usurp; they encroach on the spiritual jurisdiction of the Church, even in those cases where they dissent not from her doctrines; and they despise the people. They are the European mandarins of modern times, who think to promote civilization without the co-operation of the people, and who, in their excessive solicitude for the public weal, would fain spare all classes the trouble of providing for their mental and corporeal wants. They are called *bureaucrats* in France and Germany; and in the latter country I had ample opportunities for studying them. I do not hesitate to say that bureaucracy is one of the most dangerous and revolutionary elements in modern Germany.

This system began under Louis XIV. in France, was further developed in the eighteenth century, and partially interrupted by the Republic,* reached its culminating point under the first Napoleon. It well deserves our attentive consideration, for it had an important part in bringing about the catastrophe of 1789. Its evils are many and manifold.

First, this system renders the inhabitants of a city helpless, and ignorant in the management of

* This partial interruption was, however, more apparent than real; for the local municipalities were coerced by the clubs of the districts, and by the commissioners from Paris.

public affairs, and so exposes them to the arts of revolutionary sophists. Experience alone can give the adequate solution to many political problems.

Next, from the tedious and expensive delays it occasions in the administration of local concerns, it engenders great dissatisfaction among the people. With the exception of the *pays d'états*, it was not possible in the France of the last century, as in that of the present day, to construct or repair a bridge, or enlarge an hospital, without an application, through various intermediate boards, to the central government of Paris. The consequence of such a course was that one, sometimes two years passed away before the prayer of the petition could be acceded to.

Then, how could a city prosper when matters so necessary to the wellbeing of its inhabitants met with such obstacles? Despatch is the life of business, and where such delays were interposed by authority, trade must needs languish. The cities of France where commerce flourished were either such as enjoyed a municipal independence, or where this system of centralization was but partially introduced.

Further, municipal institutions afford scope to the talents and enterprise of the subject. But exclude him from that career of useful, legitimate ambition, and you render him either an indolent citizen, or a discontented politician.

Again, in any social crisis—nay, in any emergency, like one of those seasons of scarcity common in old France—how helpless is a city without municipal independence, or a province without local authorities! How ineffectual are often the efforts of the central government to meet the exigencies of the crisis! How miserably doth

Power feel in those moments the recoil of its own mistaken policy !

Lastly, this system subordinates the provinces to the capital, thereby exposing them to dangerous influences, and rendering them the mere passive instruments of any revolution brought about in the metropolis.

The same remarks that apply to the constitution of the city will apply to that of the village in particular, and to that of the province in general.

Those provinces which had preserved their local legislatures were far more flourishing in agriculture and commerce than those bereft of them. They were, too, as remarkable for their public spirit and energy of enterprise as for their material prosperity.

In these districts, too, the devotion to royalty was the strongest. Here Spain will afford an illustration of this truth. What provinces, during the last forty years, have made the noblest stand in behalf of the Crown, as well as the Church, against the assaults of the Revolution ? They are Navarre and the Biscayan provinces, which had ever retained their local Cortes, and Aragon and Catalonia, which had ever boasted of their fueros, or privileges. Yet, what an incessant, though secret war, had a misguided government long carried on against these institutions ! How blind, alas, are princes ! They see not that when they weaken the buttresses of freedom, they undermine the foundations of their own thrones !

CONDITION OF THE PEASANTRY.

Having now examined the political relations of the clergy, the nobility, and the burgesses, to the State, and having pointed out the evils of

administrative centralization, as regards all the interests, moral and material, of those classes, let us now inquire into the condition of the French peasantry, and see how it was affected by the system I have described.

"From the very beginning of the seventeenth century, says M. de Tocqueville, "Henry IV., according to Peréfixe, complained that the nobles quitted their country seats. In the middle of the eighteenth century this desertion became almost general; all the documents of the time state the fact, and deplore it,—the economists in their books, the intendants in their correspondence, the agricultural societies in their Transactions. An authentic proof of the fact is furnished by the registers of the capitation tax. This tax was levied at the real domicile of the person. Now, all the high aristocracy, and a part of the inferior nobility, paid the tax at Paris itself.

"We must beware, however," continues M. de Tocqueville, "not to attribute to the direct influence of some of our statesmen and kings, like Richelieu and Louis XIV., the abandonment of their country seats on the part of the class which was then at the head of the nation. The chief and permanent cause of this fact lay not in the volition of certain influential men, but in the slow and unintermitting action of institutions. And a proof of this is, that when in the eighteenth century the government wished to combat the evil, it could not even suspend its progress. In proportion as the *noblesse* lost its political rights, without acquiring new ones, and in proportion as the local liberties disappeared, this absenteeism of the nobles increased. It was no longer necessary to have recourse to attractions to draw them

from their homes; they had no longer a desire to remain there; a country life had become utterly insipid to them. And what I here say of nobles will apply to the rich landed proprietors of all countries who pursue a like course.”*

So far M. de Tocqueville.

Now, what was the condition of the French peasant under such a state of things?

I shall presently speak of the mode in which the peasant was taxed; let me now consider his feudal services. Here there were, especially in the last century, many abuses. It will be well, however, as there has been so much exaggeration on this topic, to weigh the following judicious remarks of Sir Walter Scott.

“The people of Scotland,” says he, “were in former times subject to numerous services, which are now summed up in the emphatic word *rent*; and this, in truth, was equally the case with the French tenantry. Their general condition was that of *métayers*; that is, they received their implements and stock from their landlord, and divided with him the gross produce, after the tax-gatherer was satisfied. The numerous feudal services were just a payment of *rent in kind*; a species of liquidation universal and unavoidable in all rural districts in a certain state of civilization, when a ready market for agricultural produce is, from the absence of great towns or the want of internal communication, not to be found. The people expected, when feudal services and tithes were abolished during the Revolution, that their amount would form a clear addition to their gains; but they soon found that they only

* De l'Ancien Régime, p. 210.

augmented the rent of their landlords, or were exchanged for an enormous land-tax rigorously collected by Government, and that their own condition was in no degree ameliorated. Without doubt the multitude of demands on the French peasantry was often in the highest degree vexatious; but it may be doubted, whether their weight has been alleviated by their condensation into a single payment; and whether the terrors of the words *rent* and *taxes*,* do not now equal those of the whole catalogue of feudal obligations.”†

So far Sir Walter Scott.

The condition of the peasant-proprietors since the Revolution is, in my opinion, not so happy as that of the peasantry in those parts of ancient France where the landowners were not absentees.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century, the *corvée*, or compulsory labour rendered at certain times to the landlord in lieu of rent, began to be employed by the Government. The *corvée* was now resorted to for various public works, for the construction of roads, the transport of convicts condemned to hard labour, and for the conveyance of the military baggage from one garrison to another. The peasants so employed received, indeed, wages from the Government; but these wages were low, and often arbitrarily fixed. In the transport of the heavy military baggage, the carts of the peasants were often injured, and their oxen maimed; they were thus

* The land-tax in France is now twenty-five per cent. at the very lowest, on the gross agricultural profits; often forty or fifty per cent. on the landowner's gains.

† Life of Napoleon Buonaparte.

exposed to heavy pecuniary losses; they had also often to endure hardships from the violence and arbitrary conduct of the military. All these abuses, as M. de Tocqueville well observes, would never have occurred, had there been on the spot a proprietary rich, active, enlightened, and benevolent, to bring before the higher authorities the misdemeanours and oppressions of their agents. What did the king's government know of these abuses? Little or nothing. But its great error, and even crime, was to have withdrawn from their legitimate sphere the nobles of the country.

The *taille* was a land-tax imposed on the houses and lands of the *roturiers*, or bourgeois-proprietors. From this impost not only the clergy and nobles, but a multitude of individuals holding certain offices they had purchased, were exempt. This tax, which in course of time became very onerous, fell with an aggravated weight on the *roturier* proprietors and the peasants. The fact that it affected the estate of a bourgeois, while that of his noble neighbour escaped it, created a feeling of jealousy and irritation between the two orders. Hence the rich landowners belonging to the Third Estate left their properties in the country, where their feelings were thus wounded, and resorted to the towns, where the tax could be more easily eluded. Thus the country was by degrees stripped of a wealthy proprietary, and a peasantry more and more deserted and impoverished had to sustain the heavier part of these public burdens.

Various efforts were made by the Government either directly, or through its intendants in the provinces, by the States-Provincial, and by agri-

cultural societies, in which the clergy and the nobility took a leading part, to ameliorate the condition of the peasants.

The material well-being of that class, and indeed of all orders of society, engaged in an especial manner the attention of literary, as well as of official men. They assumed the name of political economists; and their writings exercised at this time the greatest influence, not on public opinion only, but on the Government itself. This seems the fitting place to introduce them to your notice.

THE SCHOOLS OF ECONOMISTS.

There were in France, about the middle of the last century, two schools of political economists; one which acknowledged Quesnay as its chief, the other that was under the leadership of Gournay. The former proclaimed agriculture to be the sole source of national wealth; the latter vindicated for commerce and manufactures a share with husbandry in promoting the prosperity of nations. *Physiocrats* was the name given to the first. Political economy was then in its infancy; and in the infancy of all sciences such one-sided, exclusive systems are usually to be met with. Strange that Quesnay should have overlooked the fact, that though agriculture be the most solid and lasting foundation of national prosperity, yet trade and manufactures not only enhance the value of agricultural produce, but furnish the means for obtaining a more abundant supply of it. States with but a barren soil, or a small extent of territory, like Attica in ancient times, or Holland and Venice in modern ages, have, by

the arts of industry or the operations of trade, been able to command all the necessities and conveniences of life, not only for their own consumption, but for the purpose of re-exportation.

Political economy, like most sciences in the eighteenth century, though contrary to the intentions of its founders, was soon perverted to the purposes of unbelief. And, indeed, it has been only in our times a Christian school of economists has arisen to remove the many dangerous prejudices and materialist notions, with which this science had been overlaid.

The theories of these two opposite schools the statesman Turgot endeavoured to combine, and to carry out into practical operation.

A painful interest attaches to the history of Turgot. Destined for the priesthood, he repairs on the completion of his humanities to the Sorbonne, where his first published theses gave a favourable idea of his talents, as well as of his attachment to the Church. At the Sorbonne he forms an intimacy with the Abbé Loménie de Brienne, afterwards archbishop of Toulouse, who, by his secret alliance with the irreligious party, brought such scandal on the Church, and by his political administration inflicted such lasting injury on the State. The Abbé Circé and a few other secret adepts of the Encyclopædist school completed the circle of acquaintances to which Turgot now attached himself. A deep, irrevocable change has occurred in his convictions. An essay, which he now publishes, shows that he has lost the gift of faith; a gift which he is destined never to recover.

Declining to take holy orders, he enters into the magistracy, and soon, by family influence, as

well as by his talents, obtains the place of *Maitre des Requêtes*—an office nearly corresponding to that of our Master in Chancery. He at the same time devotes himself with ardour to literary and scientific pursuits, and displays a vigour as well as a versatility of intellect truly astonishing. Poetry, classical philology, modern languages, mathematics, natural science, metaphysics, and especially political economy, engage his attention. His writings show him to have been one of the most masculine intellects, and accomplished scholars, that adorned France in the last century. And deeply as he erred on the most important of all subjects, and false, narrow, and superficial as were most of his political views, it is impossible to deny the honesty of his intentions, and the integrity of his character.

Turgot is next appointed Intendant of Limoges. In this new position he is enabled to realize, to a certain extent, his views of political economy. He encourages agriculture and commerce, reforms abuses of various kinds, promotes the free circulation of corn, abolishes the *corvée*, or compulsory labour of the peasants on government works, promotes the spread of popular instruction, and the physical well-being of the people; and urges on the public authorities the necessity of a more equal system of taxation.

A wider theatre now opens to his philanthropic zeal and his administrative talents. Shortly after his accession to the throne, Louis XVI., who had at first intended to call to his councils the most prudent and able minister under his predecessor, M. de Machault, and one who, besides, had enjoyed the confidence of his father, the Dauphin,

is persuaded by the frivolous Maurepas to confide the department of finances to the leader of the economical school, Turgot.

Turgot had embraced a sort of mitigated scepticism; and though he frequented the society of the leading infidels, he yet observed a certain circumspection in his words and actions, and had forbore, by any intemperate display of his opinions, to outrage public feeling. "He could," said Voltaire, "let off an arrow without showing the hand whence it came."

He was first appointed to be head of the admiralty, for which he was totally unfitted; and shortly afterwards the king made him Comptroller-general of the Finances. As a civil administrator, though his intentions were benevolent, and some of his views were sound, yet by the precipitancy and rashness of many of his acts—by his ignorance of men and their ways—by his disregard for vested interests and acquired rights—by his tenacious adherence to abstract theories, without regard to the modifications required by practice—he often wrought much mischief, and compromised the success of measures just and salutary in themselves.

His stiff, unprepossessing manners, so injurious to all who have to make their way at courts, were not more calculated to win the confidence of his colleagues than to disarm the hostility of his opponents. Among those opponents were to be found not only the courtiers, whose pensions he wished to suppress, but many worthy members of the clergy and the aristocracy who, on public grounds, justly condemned many points of his policy.

The great projects meditated by this minister (says a recent biographer) were as follows:—*
 “The abolition of the *corvées* throughout the whole kingdom; the suppression of the more tyrannical abuses of feudalism; the two-twentieths of the *taille* converted into a single territorial tax on the nobility and the clergy; an equal assessment of imposts insured by the land-register; freedom of conscience; the recall of the Protestants; the suppression of the greater part of the monasteries; the redemption of feudal rents; combined with the rights of property; one uniform civil code for the whole kingdom; unity of weights and measures; suppression of wardenships and corporations; provincial boards to defend municipal interests; the condition of curates and vicars ameliorated; philosophers and men of letters invited to furnish the Government with the tribute of their knowledge; thought to be rendered as free as industry; a new system of public instruction; the civil power to be independent of ecclesiastical authority, &c. &c.

“The imagination is appalled,” continues the writer, “at the extent of these conceptions, when we carry ourselves back to the time when Turgot dared to put them forth. The mind is terrified on reflecting at what a price the Revolution made us purchase such of the reforms here mentioned as were real and desirable ameliorations.”†

Let us now impartially analyze these proposed reforms, and discriminate between their good and their evil elements.

* See the *Biographie Universelle*, edited by M. Michaud. Art. Turgot, by M. Durozoir.

† See Michaud’s *Biographie Universelle*, as above.

All the real reforms proposed by this minister had been repeatedly recommended by the clergy, in their periodical assemblies. They had often insisted on the abolition of the *corvées*, not only on government works, but on private estates. How could they, whose predecessors had been chiefly instrumental in putting an end, first to personal slavery, and then to serfdom, oppose the removal of the last remnant of feudal restraints? An equal assessment of imposts on all classes of society was another reform constantly recommended by the clergy, and which, as was evinced by their conduct in the Pays d'Etats, the nobles themselves would never have opposed. In 1789 this was one of the political measures which they, as well as the clergy, especially recommended to their representatives in the States-General.

The redemption of feudal rents, combined with the rights of property, would have been a measure wise and salutary in itself; for the tolls on by-roads, and the passage over rivers and lakes, the obligation in some places on the peasant to send his corn to the mill of the seigneur, and his grapes to his winepress, were burdens heavy and vexatious. But such a measure was one of difficult and delicate operation, and should have been intrusted to a more prudent statesman than Turgot, and one less prejudiced against the higher classes.

A "unity of weights and measures," though an act not easy of execution, would have approved itself to the judgment of all classes.

"One uniform civil code" is a far more questionable proposal. In a country like France, where the tenure of property was so various—where there reigned such a diversity of manners and usages and institutions in the different pro-

vinces—uniformity of civil legislation could neither be suddenly introduced nor strictly carried out. Such an attempt would have given too rude a shock, not only to old opinions and habits, but to acquired rights and vested interests. A dead uniformity in law and in administration was one of the false idols of the statesmen of the eighteenth century. But on this subject I have already touched.

The trades-corporations needed, undoubtedly, many reforms; but they should not have been wholly suppressed, as Turgot demanded, and the Revolution afterwards decreed. While a certain scope should be conceded to individual industry, it were well, I think, there should be wardens to superintend the conduct of workmen, and on one hand to protect their material interests, by guarding against excessive competition; and, on the other, to secure the public against fraud.

That the lot of the curates and the vicars should have been ameliorated, was a very laudable project; but if, as it is to be presumed, this amelioration were to be effected by a re-distribution of church property, such a measure could have been rightfully enforced only with the concurrence of the ecclesiastical authorities. And such a concurrence would never have been refused to any judicious scheme of the kind.

As to freedom of conscience, it was then practically enjoyed by the French Protestants. And had Louis XVI., under the administration of Turgot, restored to them, by a formal edict, those religious rights which he later conceded, the act would in no quarter have encountered opposition.

Here ends the catalogue of real reforms proposed by this minister.

“The suppression of the greater part of the monasteries” would have been, on the one hand, a gross usurpation of ecclesiastical authority on the part of the State; and, on the other, a heavy blow struck at religion. Reforms were, doubtless, needed in some of these bodies, particularly in the mendicant orders; but though the civil power might invite attention to monastic abuses, the Holy See and the prelates had alone the right and the power to correct them. The religious orders were the outworks of religion, and, as such, must have been peculiarly offensive to the infidel party, whose views Turgot carried out with such consummate art.

The suppression of the greater part of the monasteries would also have involved a very considerable spoliation of church property. And thus four objects would have been accomplished:—the interests of religion damaged; the political influence and consideration of the clergy lessened; the exchequer replenished for a time with the spoils of the Church; and, lastly, funds provided for the establishment of schools and colleges, to be directed by the adepts of irreligion. I do not say that all these objects were clearly present to the mind of Turgot. No; I believe he acted according to destructive instincts, of which he was but half conscious.

That “philosophers and men of letters should be invited to furnish the Government with the tribute of their knowledge,” was a truly puerile demand in a country, where men of letters had ever enjoyed great consideration, and even political influence. That influence, without any pompous invitation, would have been well insured in the States-Provincial and the States-General;

but the convocation of these assemblies was, for many reasons, most odious to Turgot and his party. The men of letters and philosophers, whose counsels this statesman was for inviting, were that wretched band of sophists that had been so long undermining religion and social order in France, and who were, twenty years afterwards, to precipitate her into an abyss of ruin.

"A new system of public instruction" must be organized, with the view, assuredly, of propagating the religious and political principles of the Encyclopædists. Instead of the wholesome competition between the colleges connected with the university, and those of the Jesuits, the Oratorians, the Benedictines, the Dominicans, the Barnabites, and of the secular clergy, as well as of the lay teachers, a dead uniformity of instruction was to prevail. It is needless to observe that such a monopoly of instruction on the part of the State, even if it furnished sufficient guarantees to religion, would not have been so conducive to the development of the public mind, or to the progress of learning.

"Thought must be as free as industry." Yes, great reformer! the anarchy of doctrines must be proclaimed; the human mind must run riot in its extravagance; no legal check on the insolence of sedition, the outrages of vice, or the ravings of blasphemy. And this is but consistent; for "the civil power is to be independent of ecclesiastical authority." In other words, the State is not to recognize Religion,—it is to be severed from all connection with her; it is to become atheistic.

Well, indeed, may the biographer of Turgot exclaim, he was appalled by the boldness of his

conceptions! If the genius of this statesman points out judicious reforms, he anticipates by twenty years the evil principles of the Revolution—the war against monastic bodies; a sort of dictation accorded to men of science, in preference to the spiritual and the temporal aristocracy,—the unrestrained licentiousness of the press,—the monopoly of education on the part of the State,—the utter desecration of that State, or political atheism. Under a virtuous prince, like Louis XVI., weak as he was in character, yet as long as he retained his personal independence, it was not possible for Turgot to realize all his political views. After an administration of twenty months, this minister fell under the combined opposition of the clergy, the nobles, the parliaments, and the people, who, by some of his injudicious measures, had been disappointed in their expectations, and injured in their material interests.

I have dwelt so long on the ministry of Turgot, because it has been so often unduly extolled, and because, in his good and in his evil measures, he was the most remarkable statesman of his school. His benevolent intentions and useful reforms, which won the noble heart of his royal master, were marred by that materialism, so common in the politicians of that age, and which looked only to the physical well-being of a nation; by a spirit of minute, puerile regulation, which, from his intendency in Limoges, became inherent in the French bureaucracy, and has since passed to the German;* by a precipitancy which, in its reforms,

* M. de Tocqueville observes that it is from the intendency of Turgot in Limoges dates the general mania for scribbling (*écrivassier* is the epithet he uses) among French

ever looked to the accidental abuses, and never to the inherent excellence of old institutions; and, lastly, by that despotism, which could brook no opposition, which dreaded the rivalry of the higher classes, and disdained the concurrence and the co-operation of the people, whom, with an air of superiority, it sought to enlighten and reform.

It is truly astonishing that the distinguished Catholic historian, Cesare Cantu, should, with an inconceivable levity have said, that "the reforms of Turgot and of Necker, if adopted, might have prevented the Revolution." If, instead of the word *prevented*, he had said *anticipated*, he would have been nearer the truth. For the projects of the first-named minister, as they have been enumerated, contain the germ of the chief measures afterwards enacted by the Constituent Assembly. Revolution (and let us ever bear that truth in mind) consists not in the outward perturbations and convulsions of society, but in the disease of its internal organs, and in the derangement of their functions. The former are the necessary consequences of the latter. And surely Malesherbes, the friend and colleague of Turgot, but who had learned wisdom in the bitter school of misfortune, better characterized

officials. In some of the minor German States, like Wurtemberg and Baden, where the bureaucratic system is carried to the last pitch of pedantry, the Catholic clergy are forced to consume a considerable portion of their valuable time in drawing up long reports to the Government, on the most trifling subjects of ecclesiastical administration. This was, at least, the case some years ago; but since 1848 there have been great changes in Germany. And so it is possible this abuse has ceased.

the nature and bearing of their common policy, than the Milanese writer I just quoted. "M. Turgot and myself," says Malesherbes, "were very worthy people, well-informed, and animated with a passionate zeal for all that was good. Who would not have thought, that none could have been more fitly selected than ourselves? Yet, knowing nothing of men but from books, deficient in ability for business, we administered affairs badly. * * * * *Without intending it, without knowing it, we have contributed to bring about the revolution.*"*

A like opinion was pronounced on this minister by another contemporary, M. de Montyon, in his work entitled "*Particularités et Observations sur les Ministres des Finances.*"

REVOLUTIONARY PUBLICISTS.

Most of the irreligious writers of France in the eighteenth century were not political democrats; for they despised the people too much to condescend to flatter their humours and passions, or even to study their wants and interests. On the contrary, Voltaire and his disciples were, as Lally Tollendal once observed, ready to fly at the first beat of the democratic drum. And M. de Tocqueville remarks, that almost all the officials and writers of the infidel school are for ever holding up the empire of China as a pattern for European imitation. And the reason is obvious; they were anxious to secure to the literati of France the

* See Biog. Univ., Michaud. Art. Turgot. Turgot died of a fit of the gout, in the year 1781, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

same political supremacy, which the Mandarins enjoy in the Celestial Empire.

A profound contempt for the humbler classes of society, whom they regarded as unfit for, and incapable of receiving the light of the new philosophy, is one of the most salient traits in all these apostles of irreligion.*

An unfailing instinct likewise told them, that absolute monarchy afforded facilities for success, as, by the influence of a corrupt minister, or of a royal mistress, their doctrines might exert a sway, which, under another system, where the clergy, the nobles, and the commons, had a voice in the public councils, was utterly unattainable.

But though not democrats, it follows not that they were attached to monarchy and its institutions, or that the tendency of their party was to support them. In the first place, their irreligious principles sapped the foundations of all social order; secondly, those hearts, so deadened by scepticism, were incapable of any generous attachment; and, lastly, the sort of monarchical absolutism they preached up and supported was one which, sooner or later, must needs bring forth a revolutionary republic.

The genuine French Republicans in the last

* On one occasion Voltaire writes to one of his friends:—"I care not whether our readers or our artisans be enlightened or not."—Vol. lx. p. 23: 20 Sept. 1763. In another letter, to Mme. d'Epinay, he writes, "Ma chère Philosophe,—I recommend to you Christianity" (here Voltaire uses an epithet in reference to our divine religion which I dare not transcribe); "you must close against it the door of respectable people, but leave it in the street, for which it is well suited."—Vol. lx. p. 355.

century were the disciples of Rousseau and Mably. The paradoxical Rousseau assailed the foundations of the family and of the State; and there is not a social institution, not even that of property, which his destructive sophistry left untouched. His "Contrat Social" was the basis of the later "Declaration of Rights," and, indeed, of the whole revolutionary legislation.*

* In this work, with an inexorable logic, Rousseau pushes to the extremest consequences the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, propounded by Sidney, Locke, and the French Calvinist Jurieu; a doctrine which is the source of every revolutionary error and crime, even of regicide itself. This principle he founded on a pretended primitive compact between the ruler and the people, anterior to the social state. But such a contract, if express (as has often been shown), presupposes a community of language, territory, wants, and interests between the parties, and consequently a state of society, and consequently, again, an established power, without which the former could not (as is admitted on all hands) possibly exist. And if it be said that primitive compact is an implied one, it may be answered, What signifies an implied contract in a state of things where there was as yet no legislation and no judge? Undoubtedly, in course of time, compacts were made between sovereigns and subjects; and again, the heads of small communities of their own free will, or when forced by circumstances, stipulated with the rulers of more powerful tribes for the preservation of freedom and property in return for their submission. And it is these subsequent contracts which, as the great Catholic publicist Ludwig Haller, in his famous work, "The Restoration of Political Science," observes, have rendered the absurd theory of a primitive compact more specious and plausible. The temporal power is not, indeed, like the spiritual, *immediately* ordained of God; no, it is but *mediately* so; that is to say, it was the natural development of domestic authority, and is not supernaturally sustained, but is abandoned to the accidents of time, and the modifications of human volition. Yet, in one form or another, it must always subsist.

[The

Mably, on the other hand, was a blind, indiscriminate worshipper of the republics of heathen antiquity. The Genevan sophist declared that letters and science depraved man; and so he spurned all civilization. The Parisian abbé, in his perverse admiration of paganism, repudiated all the social blessings which Christianity had conferred on mankind.

In a word, Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, and Mably, were the four spirits whom the Revolution more especially embodied. Irreligious mockery and depravity of heart,—the deepest perversion of the understanding, carried even to atheistic frenzy,—a sophistication of the natural sense, and the wildest disorder of the fancy,—a grotesque, absurd mimicry of the pagan antique,—which are all so characteristic of the Revolution,—are severally represented by these four writers.

In the back-ground stand the more stately figures of Buffon and Montesquieu. Buffon had introduced an undue worship of Nature,—and so given an excessive preponderance to the physical sciences over the moral. Those sciences became henceforth idols of the Revolution.

Montesquieu, whose native sagacity was so often clouded by the sophistries of his age, would, in happier times, have been a guiding light to France; but, as it was, there was such a mixture of truth and falsehood in his writings, that, instead of solving, they served but to perplex the political

The theory which makes the civil power an emanation from the parental, is, in my opinion, the most satisfactory and philosophical explanation of the Catholic dogma of the divine origin of civil magistracy; but it is a theory resting on its own merits, and must not be confounded with the sacred dogma itself.

problems of his age and his country. He was an ardent admirer of the British constitution ; but he looked merely to the outward mechanism of that constitution, without comprehending its internal organism, or its relations to the Past or to the Present. He was like those priests of antiquity, who repeated the enunciations of an oracle which they no longer understood.

At the outset of the Revolution, its more moderate partisans followed the guidance of Montesquieu, and claimed a monarchy with two chambers. The more violent democrats, headed by La Fayette, held up the American constitution as a model, and demanded what these infatuated men called a *Royal Democracy* ; that is, a single popular chamber, with the phantom of a king.

If a monarchy with two chambers had been but a revival of the old French constitution, with the single modification that the clergy should vote in one chamber with the nobles, there could have been no very serious objection to such a scheme of polity. But if the Crown were to be despoiled of its lands, and its free legislative action,—if the clergy were to be fettered in their spiritual jurisdiction, and robbed of their political rights, and even property,—if the upper house were not to be closely connected with the lower by a community of relationship, interests, and affections, as in England,—if, moreover, administrative centralization were to be retained,—then, as a later experience has shown, all the fearful evils attendant on democracy (however disguised), in a great and populous state, would infallibly have occurred. And here I, for the moment, leave out of sight the appalling aggravation to such evils from the irreligion and immorality then so prevalent in France.

It is a remarkable fact, and it serves to show how early the Revolution evinced its brutal aversion to all intellectual superiority, that few of the eminent writers of the last century, who survived to witness the work of demolition they had been so instrumental in bringing about, were elected deputies to the Constituent or Legislative assemblies. They were overlooked by the generation whom they had taught to depise all that was venerable. They themselves recoiled with horror from the foul progeny of their own perverted minds; and even such as did not return to Christianity, deplored what they called the excesses of the Revolution.*

I must now say a few words on the secret societies.

SECRET SOCIETIES.

But without the aid of secret societies, the anti-Christian league could not have accomplished its infernal purposes. By such associations its adepts were enabled to multiply, as well as to discipline their forces, to concert their plan of operations, and to carry on their war against religion and society, with greater safety to themselves, and with better chances of success.

I have not space to dwell on this more esoteric character of the Revolution. Suffice it to say, that

* This reminds me of the saying of a man of talent, but of a very singular character, whom I often saw on my first visit to Paris. He used to tell me, "Ah! sir, if Voltaire and Rousseau had lived to see the Revolution, the one would have become a Jesuit, the other a Trappist." The gentleman I allude to was himself a convert from the north of Europe.

as the old institution of Freemasonry had in the seventeenth century been made to subserve the cause of political parties in England, so now in France, during the last age, it was by degrees converted into an instrument of the infidel and revolutionary faction.

It would be too long to enter into the origin of Freemasonry, and to trace its various transformations. Supposing it even to have been pure in its origin, yet, like all secret societies, it could be easily diverted from its pristine purpose. Under heathenism, indeed, which obscured and perverted so many religious truths, the ancient Mysteries, though even in their origin not without corruption, helped to preserve the general doctrines of primitive revelation. But under the Christian dispensation, which has revealed all necessary truths to mankind, such secret societies, as a great writer well observes,* are utterly incongruous.

While Freemasonry, with its impenetrable secret, its symbols and its festivals, was calculated to excite the curiosity and enkindle the imagination of youth, it held forth attractions to other parties. Love of good cheer and amusement brought some to its lodges; the more laudable motive of performing works of beneficence induced others to join its ranks; the spirit of charlatanism enlisted other adepts; and the hope to find a fitting medium for an irreligious and revolutionary propagandism, led many to seek initiation into its mysterious rites.

In France and elsewhere princes of the blood and illustrious nobles, unconscious of the ulterior

* *Vide* F. Schlegel's "Philosophy of History," translated by myself, Lecture xviii. 5th edition. Bohn, 1850.

tendencies of the Masonic association, because they there filled inferior grades, openly declared themselves its patrons. Other men of birth and property followed their example.

The Church soon perceived the danger of these secret societies. Pope Clement XII. excommunicated the Freemasons in Italy ; and his successor, Benedict XIV., confirmed and extended the anathema. In our times, Popes Leo XII. and Gregory XVI. have renewed the condemnation pronounced by their predecessors against the Masonic order, and all other secret associations.

The civil power imitated the example of the spiritual, and in most states of Europe, during the last century, was Freemasonry proscribed.

Out of that association the societies of Jacobins and of Carbonari have been successively evolved. This circumstance alone, independently of other circumstances, would have justified the conduct of the ecclesiastical and secular powers in regard to the Freemasons. But many facts, which, in the civil convulsions of France, came to light, and several writings that at that time were discovered, proved how actively those occupying the higher grades in the Masonic order made it instrumental in furthering the cause of impiety and of the Revolution. Those holding the inferior grades in this association were not cognizant of the designs of their superiors in this mysterious hierarchy ; but as they had joined a forbidden society, they were in so far accessories to their guilt. It is but just to add, that Freemasonry varies in character in different countries ; and it is generally admitted that in England its influence is less noxious than in any other land.

Before proceeding further, let me take a short review of the foregoing remarks.

Such, then, was that unhappy separation of classes, which absolute monarchy had in the last century created in France. It separated the court from the nobles, the nobles from the third estate, the third estate as well as the nobles from the peasantry.

It tended, moreover, to aid the progress of unbelief. A capricious court sometimes patronized, sometimes banished, the apostles of irreligion. A nobility, in part debauched, found in impiety the ready accomplice in its guilty pleasures. Given up to dissipation, and carried away by the frivolous amusements of the capital, many nobles forgot the duties they owed to their tenantry, neglected their comforts and well-being, encumbered their estates with debt, and, by obtaining pensions and places from the Government, sought, while they augmented the public burthens, to retrieve their own dilapidated fortunes. The third estate, wealthy and intelligent as it was, dissatisfied with a political order of things where its energies found not an adequate scope, made the clergy and nobility responsible for errors of government with which they were not chargeable. This class sometimes copied, too, the vices of the upper ranks of the capital, sometimes lent an ear to the doctrines of impiety.

The political incapacity and inexperience, which, from the want of sound representative institutions in most of the provinces, the higher and wealthier classes of society laboured under, made them overlook the social and political evils attendant on irreligion. This fact has been grossly exag-

gerated by M. de Tocqueville, who goes so far as to attribute the spread of the infidel philosophy exclusively to absolute power. He forgets that the British constitution of 1688 had lasted about fifty years, when the Protestant Bishop Butler, in the year 1735, complained that in the cultivated classes of England, Christianity was mostly assumed to be untrue. De Tocqueville says, that the inhabitants of the United States of America, while they have adopted the political doctrines of the French Revolution, have scouted its impieties. Both assertions are untrue. The truth of the latter statement he must settle with Mrs. Trollope, who declares that during her abode in America she never met in society with a gentleman who was not an infidel. This may be the opposite exaggeration. But we all know how widely Deism is spread through the United States, and that Unitarianism, which is a cognate system of doctrine, counts numerous followers in that republic.

The false philosophy of the last age was, as was shown in a former Lecture, the child of the Reformation; it came from that Spirit of Darkness who is the artificer of all heresies, and pursued a course independent of national usages and national institutions. But as heresy has ever been modified by the character and habits of nations, so the French infidelity, differing, as it doubtless did, from the English Deism, found under absolute monarchy, as I have just now observed, certain facilities and encouragements which a better system of government would have withheld; for well-regulated freedom fosters all the conservative instincts and feelings.

But, besides the evils of a centralizing govern-

ment, the absolutism of the last century had many points of analogy and contact with the Revolution, which it preceded, and which it helped to bring forth.

SUPPRESSION OF THE PARLIAMENTS.

Not content with having disorganized the Church and public education by the suppression of the celebrated order I spoke of in my last Lecture, the Government of Louis XV. put down the parliaments, and introduced a new judicial system. For the adoption of so violent a measure the monarch had doubtless received great provocations. The parliaments, as I have before observed, had on many occasions evinced towards the Crown a very factious conduct, and had exercised much oppression on the Church. Yet they formed the chief barrier against despotic power; they possessed, with all their faults, many noble elements; and the provincial parliaments, especially, were animated with a much better spirit than the leading one of Paris. Singular dispensation of Divine Providence! The French episcopate, which those parliaments so often thwarted and harassed, is now, after winning so many bright crowns of confessorship and martyrdom in the bloody scenes of the Revolution, become more illustrious than ever. The Society of Jesus, which they so cruelly persecuted, and at last abolished, has revived, and has brought forth more distinguished men than for a century and a half it had shown. Yet of all the institutions of the old French monarchy, none have so utterly perished as the parliaments in question!

But the suppression of this ancient and vene-

rable body of magistrates, which, with all its faults, had rendered signal services to the State, and especially the manner in which that suppression was carried out, was regarded as violent and revolutionary, and gave a dangerous shock to public opinion.

SUPPRESSION OF THE BODY-GUARDS.

The next revolutionary act of the old government occurred under Louis XVI. This was the disbanding of the body-guards, called the *Maison du Roi*, commanded as it was by officers of the most illustrious families, and many of whose privates were nobles. In all professions, there are certain *corps d'élite*, which reflect and, if I may so speak, image forth the ideal of excellence. Such in the Church are religious orders to the secular priest; academies and scientific societies to the man of letters or of science. Such in the Middle Age was the spiritual chivalry, like the Knights of St. John, to the secular knight-hood. Now, this body-guard was to the French soldier the pattern of military honour, fidelity, and courage. Its suppression, by the advice of the Maréchal St. Germain, was a most impolitic measure, which had the effect of disorganizing the army, and was not uninstrumental in its defection during the first days of the Revolution.

THE AMERICAN WAR.

Another revolutionary measure of the old court was the American war. This war all the monarchical, and almost all the Catholic writers of France, condemn as most impolitic and unwise, as

well as unjust.* Without any provocation from its ally, and contrary to all the maxims of justice, to all the dictates of prudence, the court of Versailles, amidst the general political ferment of its own subjects, and with an exhausted treasury, sends forth to the aid of the revolted provinces of British America its fleets and its armies. What other consequence could ensue from such an alliance, but the one which actually ensued? Why, that the French colonies should learn and practise the lesson of rebellion, and that the French army should return imbued with revolutionary ideas, and with its loyalty debauched? The effect which this war had on many of the young French nobles is well described by Count Ségur in his *Memoirs*. The shallow, conceited Lafayette and his compeers, many of whom became victims of the revolutionary frenzy they had excited, could not discriminate between institutions adapted for municipal cities, now severed from the mother-country, and those essential to the existence of an old, populous, and powerful state.

THE LETTRES-DE-CACHET.

An abuse of the ancient régime, in which, however, it was infinitely surpassed by the revolutionary governments that succeeded it, were the *lettres-de-cachet*, or arbitrary imprisonments, and on which I must now say a word. These, in my

* The Marquis de Bouillié, in his interesting *Memoirs*, writes:—"M. de Choiseul, so far back as 1765, employed secret agents in America to excite the British colonies to rebellion" (p. 15; Paris, 1823). This was conduct worthy of the patron of the Encyclopædists, and the persecutor of the Jesuits.

eyes, constitute the most odious vice in the old government. Yet I remember well, on my first visit to Paris, many years ago, the remark made by a French nobleman, whom I often had the honour of visiting, the son of a great writer, and himself distinguished in letters. I observed that the *lettres-de-cachet* were a great abuse in the ancient monarchy, and he immediately replied, "Oh ! they often protected the honour of families." This shows in what a different light the French of the old school regarded this usage, which to us is so very hateful. Parental power was always stronger in France, and longer exercised, than in England or Ireland ; and when in the high families a young man by his debaucheries and gambling persevered in bringing disgrace on his house, the father applied to the court to have him locked up in the Bastille. This was the case, for example, with the famous Mirabeau.

In the reign of Louis XV., a great abuse had been made of the *lettres-de-cachet*, and individuals belonging to various parties were shut up for a time, more or less limited, in the Bastille. In the reign of Louis XVI., however, a very moderate exercise was made of this abusive right ; and when, in 1789, the state prison was broken open by the infuriated mob, five persons only were found detained within its walls.

But this was a usage quite derogatory to the dignity, as well as the freedom of the citizen, and which, had the constitution of the States-General been restored, would soon have been swept away. Frequently in the course of the eighteenth century had the clergy, in their addresses to the Crown, protested against the *lettres-de-cachet*.

I now come to the last abuse I intend to notice—the prodigality of the court of Louis XV., and the fearful augmentation of the public debt, arising therefrom, as well as from rash, impolitic wars.

DISORDER IN THE PUBLIC FINANCES.

“The disorder in the finances,” says the Marquis de Bouillié, “caused by the lavish expenditure of years, and increased by the American war, which burdened the State with an expenditure of twelve hundred million francs, was, though not the greatest, yet the most palpable of the evils that afflicted France.”*

Alluding to the profligate waste of the public money by the minister M. de Choiseul, for the purposes of political corruption, this writer observes, “that he gave considerable pensions to the leading personages at court, and to officers of the highest rank in the army, who hitherto had been content with their emoluments, and had taken a pride in the rewards they had received. It is observed, that, under the ministry of Cardinal de Fleury, the State paid *three* million francs in pensions to the military; they amounted to *sixteen* million under that of M. de Choiseul. At the period of the convocation of the Notables in 1787, the sum total of pensions had risen to *twenty-eight* million francs, four-fifths whereof were lavished upon the army.”†

“In 1787,” he continues, “the revenues of the State amounted to four hundred and seventy-four million francs; the expenses for the current year

* Bouillié's Memoirs, p. 89; Paris, 1823.

† Id. p. 13.

to six hundred million. There was, therefore, a deficit of one hundred and twenty-six millions; but on this sum fifty-two millions were to be reimbursed for that year, called a reimbursement at a fixed period. Such reimbursements were to be continued during many other years for sums more or less considerable.

“The life-annuities with which the State was charged, amounting to ninety-six million francs, became yearly extinct. The hope was entertained of economizing every year from fifty to sixty millions; and this reduction would not have been difficult. The real deficit was, therefore, inconsiderable, and would easily have been filled up by the new stamp-tax, and by the territorial impost, proposed to the Notables by M. de Calonne. This impost, under the name of the Royal Tithe, had been formerly recommended to Louis XIV. by the Maréchal de Vauban, and to Louis XV. in 1759 by M. de Silouette. The laying-on of this tax required an estimate to be made of all the landed estates, which would have been rated at so much a franc on each man’s income. The provincial boards which people were then anxious to establish, would have insured ease and exactness in the assessment of the tax.”*

There was, unfortunately, the greatest inequality in the assessment of the public imposts. Some of the *pays-d’états*, as well as some of the opulent cities, compounded for their taxes at a very moderate rate. This was the case also with some of the powerful nobles at court, with the rich financiers and placemen, and with even a few of

* *Mémoires de M. de Bouillié*, pp. 39, 40.

the magistrates.* Hence imposts, so unequally assessed, fell with redoubled weight on the classes least capable of bearing them.

During the latter years of the reign of Louis XV., the financial crisis impending over France, as well as the many perils, moral and political, which threatened her existence, did not escape the attention of calm judicious observers. Among those must be placed the anonymous writer of the following letter addressed to Louis XV., in 1761, and who thus, with the hand of a master, sounds the many wounds of his country. The document is as prophetic as the sermon of the eloquent mis-

* "The princes of the blood, for example," says the writer just quoted, "who, among them, were in the enjoyment of from twenty-four to twenty-five million francs per annum, paid for their two-twentieths but one hundred and eighty-eight thousand francs a year, instead of two millions four hundred thousand.

"I will cite," he continues, "on this subject an anecdote, which may serve to prove the existence of this abuse. The Duke of Orleans,† who presided over the bureau of which I was a member at the Assembly of the Notables in 1787, told me one day, after a deliberation, in which we had discussed and adopted the resolution in favour of establishing provincial boards; 'Do you know, sir, that this joke will cost me at least three hundred thousand francs a year?' 'How, my lord?' I replied. 'Why, with the intendants of provinces I had an understanding, and could in fact pay them whatever I thought proper. But, on the other hand, the provincial boards will exact my dues with the utmost rigour.' This prince then possessed seven million five hundred thousand francs per annum; and after the death of his father-in-law, the Duke de Penthièvre, he inherited four million francs of yearly income."—*Mémoires de Bouillie*, p. 40.

† This was afterwards the notorious Philippe Egalité.

sionary, Père Brydaine, who, thirty years before the event, foretold the worship of the Goddess of Reason. It runs as follows :—

“ Your finances, sire, are in the utmost disorder, and the great majority of states have perished through this cause. Your ministers are without genius and capacity. A seditious flame has sprung up in the very bosom of your parliaments; you seek to corrupt them, and the remedy is worse than the disease. Open war is carried on against religion. The Encyclopædists, under pretence of enlightening mankind, are sapping its foundations. All the different kinds of licence are closely connected: the Philosophists and the Calvinists tend towards republicanism, as well as the Jansenists; the Philosophists strike at the root, the others lop the branches; and their efforts, without being concerted, will one day lay the tree low. Add to this, the Economists, whose object is political licentiousness, as that of others is liberty of worship, and the government may find itself in twenty or thirty years undermined in every direction, and will then fall with a crash. Lose no time in restoring order in the finances; embarrassments necessitate fresh taxes, which grind the people, and induce them afterwards to revolt. A time will come, sire, when the people will be enlightened, and that time is probably approaching.”

“ It was no common man,” says Sir Archibald Alison, “ who in 1761 wrote this anonymous letter. It produced a very great impression on the king, his minister the Duke de Choiseul, and Madame de Pompadour.”*

Disorder in the finances is never the cause, but

* See *Mémoires de Mme. Hausset*. Alison's *Hist. of Europe*, vol. i.

the occasion of great revolutions. After having traced the causes of the catastrophe of 1789, let me in conclusion advert to its more immediate occasions. And here I cannot do better than cite the words of a distinguished man, who was an eye-witness of the first memorable scenes of the Revolution, and held at the time a high military post.

IMMEDIATE OCCASIONS OF THE REVOLUTION.

"The great errors," says the Marquis de Bouillié, "committed by M. Necker in the composition of the States-General were, as far as I have observed, as follows :—Firstly the few qualifications exacted for election and eligibility, and which opened to men without property admission into the States; secondly, the salary accorded to deputies, and which attracted adventurers, with few or no pecuniary resources; thirdly, the selection of Versailles as the place of meeting for the States;* fourthly, the liberty granted to those possessing lands or fiefs in different provinces, to offer themselves as candidates to the electors of those provinces, and even to confer on their attorneys the same rights of eligibility which they themselves there possessed; and fifthly, the inadvertence (which, trivial as it may seem, yet, from its effects, was of very great importance), in having built but two chambers, for the clergy and nobility, and none at all for the third estate. This omission left that order in the possession and the

* The frivolous Necker wished even Paris to be the place for their assemblage; but in this matter he was overruled by the majority of the council.

enjoyment of the common hall belonging to the three estates, and furnished it with a pretext for inviting the other orders there to assemble. To all these mistakes we may add the *double* representation of the third estate. Lastly, the consummation of all these errors was the weak vacillating conduct which the king was induced to hold in all his relations with the States-General, from which his ministers entirely separated him, instead of making him the arbiter of their decisions. In the edict of their convocation, the objects for which they were convened should have been specified. The first difficulties likely to arise should have been foreseen ; and of these the chief were the verification of the powers of the deputies, and the determining of the cases, when the three orders should deliberate conjointly, or when separately. These two questions ought to have been submitted to the Government, and such a proceeding would have been only in conformity with the spirit and the principles of the States-General.”*

The double representation of the third estate was followed by the fusion of the three orders into one chamber. Thereby the triumph of democracy was insured ; the fatal organic change in the constitution of the country was made ; and (*looking to the then moral and social condition of France*), all the disorder, the injustice, the tyranny, the anarchy, the proscriptions, the confiscations, the judicial murders, the civil wars, the popular massacres, the crimes, the impieties which ensued, were but the natural results of such an overthrow of the old political system.

Such, then, were the minor occasions, and such

* Mémoires du Marquis de Bouillié, pp. 68, 69.

the great political causes, that led to the Revolution of 1789.

There was not a single abuse in the old régime which might not have been remedied without that fearful catastrophe. I have endeavoured all along to show you how that Revolution was in its spiritual part the child of the Reformation, and in its political, the offspring of regal Absolutism. So a consistent opponent of the Revolution must be the opponent of absolute Monarchy.

During the whole course of the eighteenth century, the clergy implored the Government to hold periodical convocations of the States-General; to establish in all the provinces of the kingdom States-Provincial; to publish accounts of the public receipts and expenditure; to check, in the time, at least, of Louis XV., the prodigality of the Court, to abolish the *corvées*, and to better the condition of the peasantry.

In their several memorials to their representatives, the different bodies of nobles in 1789 require the prohibition of *lettres-de-cachet*; some even speak of the demolition of the Bastille. All demand that an end should be put to extraordinary judicatures, and to arbitrary arrests; that each individual should be judged by his peers. They ask for the freedom of trade and industry, the liberty of the press, and the non-violation of secrets intrusted to the post-office. They require, that while the Catholic religion should be the established one, the non-Catholics, or Protestants, should enjoy all civil rights. They demand that every exertion should be made to promote the well-being of the peasantry, and that certain game-laws hurtful to their interests should be abolished.

There was wisdom enough in ancient France to avert the convulsion of 1789. There were vigour and flexibility enough in her old States constitution to reform every abuse.

Sed Dis aliter visum est.

Louis XVI., who by his piety and benevolence set a noble example to his people, was not the prince to meet this formidable crisis. Instead of seeking his advisers where he ought to have sought them, he gave ear to the counsels of the false Economists, and of the followers of Rousseau.

So, with a weak and vacillating king; a court nobility partly frivolous, partly corrupt; a third estate in part vitiated in its faith and its morals, and imbued with revolutionary doctrines; with an army demoralized, a treasury exhausted, and a people at once suffering and misled,—the Monarchy of fourteen hundred years fell with a tremendous crash.

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APPENDIX.

(Note A.)

ANTIQUITY OF THE EGYPTIANS.

"THE entire number of years," says Sir G. Wilkinson, "assigned by Manetho to his thirty dynasties of kings did not greatly exceed 5,000; and Syncellus reports Manetho as claiming for the monarchy no longer actual duration than 3,555 years before the conquest by Alexander. (See Müller's *Fr. Hist. Gr.*, vol. ii. p. 534.) Even this view, however, seems to be extravagant; for it places the accession of Menes (the first king) in B.C. 3,883, which is considerably before the Deluge, according to the highest computation. Still, the Egyptian numbers are moderate, compared with those of some other nations. The Babylonians counted 468,000 years from their first king, Alorus, to the conquest by Cyrus. (Beros. apud Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. p. 5—18; compare Brandis. *Rerum Ass. Temp. Emendata*, p. 16, 17.) And the Indians and Chinese trace their history for a still longer period. The Egyptian claims to a high *relative* antiquity had, no doubt, a solid basis of truth. It is probable that a settled monarchy was established in Egypt earlier than in any other country. Babylonian *history* does not go back beyond B.C. 2234. Egyptian begins nearly 500 years earlier."—(Trans. of Herod. b. ii. p. 2. n. 2. vol. ii. By G. Rawlinson, Esq., M.A., assisted by Col. Sir H. Rawlinson and Sir G. G. Wilkinson. London: Murray, 1858.)

"Manetho (in Greek, *Μανεθώς*) here spoken of was," says Dr. Smith, "an Egyptian priest, of the town of Sebennytus, who lived in the reign of the first Ptolemy. He was the first Egyptian who gave, in the Greek language, an account of the religion and history of his country. He based his information upon the ancient works of the Egyptians themselves, and more especially upon their

sacred books. The work in which he gave an account of the theology of the Egyptians, and of the origin of the gods and the world, bore the title of *Τῶν Φυσικῶν Ἐπιτομή*. His historical work was entitled a 'History of Egypt.' It was divided into three parts or books. The first contained the history of the country previous to the thirty dynasties, or what may be termed the mythology of Egypt, and also of the first dynasties. The second opened with the eleventh, twelfth, and concluded with the nineteenth dynasty. The third gave the history of the remaining eleven dynasties, and concluded with an account of Nectanëbus, the last of the Egyptian native kings. The work of Manetho is lost; but a list of the dynasties is preserved in Julius Africanus and Eusebius (most correct in the Armenian version of his 'Chronicon'), who, however, has introduced various interpolations. The lists of the Egyptian kings, and the duration of their several reigns, were undoubtedly derived from genuine documents: and their correctness, so far as they are not interpolated, is said to be confirmed by the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the monuments."—(Classical Dictionary. Art. Manetho.)

When we consider that the History of Manetho is lost; that of the Greek original of Eusebius's "Chronicon" fragments only remain; that there exist of it but two versions, a Latin (imperfect) and an Armenian; that the copyists of Manetho, Julius Africanus, and Georgius Syncellus, vary in the lists of Egyptian kings, as well as Eusebius; that the hieroglyphic inscriptions themselves on the monuments still leave many chronological and historical difficulties unexplained; it seems rash on the part of Dr. Smith, in this stage of the inquiry, to bring a charge of interpolation against an historian of such learning and authority as Eusebius. Would it not be fairer to surmise that there were variations in the different copies of Manetho's work? Certainly the hieroglyphic inscriptions clearly corroborate, as we have just seen, the opinion set forth by Eusebius as to the *contemporaneity* of many of the Egyptian dynasties.

"*Forte iisdem temporibus,*" says he, "*multos Ægyptiorum reges simul fuisse contigerit. Si quidem Thinitas aiant et Memphitas, Saitasque et Æthiopes regnasse, ac interim alios quoque; et sicut mihi videtur alios alibi, minime autem alterum alteri successisse, sed alios hic, alios illic regnare oportuisse: et ideo tot annorum multitudo, ut hoc modo*

colligeretur, accidit."—Chron. pp. 201, 202; ed. J. B. Aucher, Venetiis, 1818.

The beginnings of Egyptian history are set down, as we have seen, by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson at 2,700 years before Christ. This would leave an interval of 600 years between the origin of the Egyptian monarchy and the occurrence of the Deluge, usually computed at 3,300 years before our era; a period amply sufficient for the migration and settlement of the first families of mankind. What often perplexes men not ill-disposed to religion, is the fact, that they almost unconsciously presuppose a state of primitive barbarism, from which mankind had slowly emerged. Such men we may address in the words of the old Chinese sage, cited by Abel Remusat: "A bright light shone around the first men; we think they were in darkness, because we ourselves have come out of it. Man is a child born at midnight; when he sees the sun rise, he thinks that yesterday never existed." (*Mélanges Asiatiques*.)

Such is the teaching of a true philosophy; such the clear intimation of the Bible; such the testimony of all tradition.

(Note B.)

RELATIONS OF GREEK TO EGYPTIAN SCIENCE.

It is very satisfactory to find that the view, as to the relations of Greek to Egyptian science, expressed in the text eighteen months ago, should be confirmed by the authority of so distinguished a scholar as Sir Gardiner Wilkinson. In the work just published, and referred to above, we find the following remarks on this subject:—

"No one will for a moment imagine," says he, "that the wisest of the Greeks went to study in Egypt for any other reason than because it was there the greatest discoveries were to be learnt; and that Pythagoras, or his followers (Plut. de Plac. Phil. iii. c. 2) suggested, from no previous experience, the theory (we now call Copernican) of the sun being the centre of our system (Aristot. de Cælo, ii. 13), or the obliquity of the ecliptic, or the moon's borrowed light, or the proof of the Milky Way being a collection of stars (Plut. de Plac. Phil. iii. c. 2), derived from the fact, that the earth would otherwise intercept the light if derived from the sun, taught by Democritus and Anaxagoras,

according to Aristotle (Arist. Met. i. 8), the former of whom studied astronomy for five years in Egypt (Diodor. i. 98), and mentions himself as a disciple of the priests of Egypt and of the Magi, having also been in Persia and at Babylon."—(Clem. Strom. i. p. 304.) * * *

Iamblichus says that Pythagoras derived his information upon different sciences from Egypt; he learnt philosophy from the priests; and his theories of comets, numbers, and music, were doubtless from the same source: but the great repugnance evinced by the Egyptian priests to receive Pythagoras will account for their withholding from him much that they knew, though his great patience, and his readiness to comply with their regulations, even to the rite of circumcision (Clem. Strom. i. p. 302), obtained for him more information than was imparted to any other Greek (Plut. de Isi. s. 10). Clemens says (Strom. i. p. 303), Pythagoras was the disciple of Souchês the Egyptian arch-prophet (Plutarch says of Conuphis, and Solon of Souchis the Saite); Plato of Sechnuphis of Heliopolis, and Eudoxus the Cnidian of Conuphis; and Clemens repeats the story of Plato (Tim. p. 466), of the Egyptian priest saying, "Solon, Solon, you Greeks are always children!" which shows what was the general belief among the Egyptians and Greeks respecting the source of knowledge in early times. Strabo, indeed, affirms that the Greeks did not even know the length of the year till Eudoxus and Plato went to Egypt, at the late period of 370 B.C. (xvii. p. 554). Cicero says, "Plato Ægyptios omnium philosophiæ disciplinarum parentes secutus est."—(Somn. Scip.)

The development given in after-times by the Greek mind to what it learned originally from Egypt, is what showed the genius of the Greeks, and conferred an obligation on mankind; and it is by keeping this in view, and by perceiving how the Greeks applied what they learnt, that we shall do them justice, not by erroneously attributing to them the discovery of what was already old, when they were in their infancy.

Herodotus, on this, as on other occasions, is far above the prejudices of his countrymen; he claims no inventions borrowed from other people; and his reputation has not suffered from the injudicious accusation of Plutarch "of malevolence towards the Greeks."—(Trans. of Herod., vol. ii. App. c. vii. p. 330-2.)

(Note C.)

“THE MENACED REIGN OF THE PRÆTORIAN GUARDS.”

Lecture VII.

I AM unwilling in these Lectures to touch on contemporaneous history ; but speaking of a Revolution, which is not yet brought to a close, I should have left the sketch very incomplete, had I made no allusion to the great events passing around us. And now, in addressing the general public, I am under less restraint than when speaking to an audience within the walls of a university.

Though some time ago (and perhaps even yet the danger is not passed), France seemed menaced with the reign of prætorian guards, that menace will never, I think, be realized, and for the following reasons :—

Firstly, that great country is not, like the Roman Empire in the time of the Cæsars and their successors, in a state of hopeless moral and intellectual decay. On the contrary, within the last fifty years, there has been a wonderful process of regeneration going on in France. The nobility, that had once given such scandal, and caused so much evil, is now the most exemplary in Europe. Large portions of the rural population in the western and southern provinces might, for their piety, virtue, loyalty, and courage, be the boast and pride of any land. A great improvement has taken place in the professional and the mercantile classes ; while among the *litterati* and men of science there are many who no less adorn the Church by their virtues, than letters and science by their genius and learning. Much has been done of late years, and with considerable success, to reclaim to virtue and religion the workmen and artisans of Paris and other great cities. Of the great moral change in the army it is needless to speak, since our countrymen had such striking proofs of it in the late Crimean war. What country has not heard of the virtues and heroic zeal of the French clergy ? *Quæ regio in terris non plena laboris ?* The learned and talented members it has in our times produced, and under difficulties and disadvantages of every kind, show how well it will repay the efforts of those who are labouring to improve ecclesiastical studies.

Godless and corrupt as a large portion of the French

people still are, it is impossible that a nation which can show in every class of her population so much piety, probity, courage, intelligence, and patriotism, should succumb under the ignoble government of the Cæsars.

But, secondly, it would be most unjust to ascribe to the present enlightened emperor of the French, who rescued his country from anarchy, and has achieved so much for religion and social order, the design of establishing a military tyranny. Independently of every motive of virtue and patriotism, self-interest must show him that a military democracy is not more stable than the civil one he overthrew, and scarcely less dangerous to his own dynasty. Such a government, besides throwing back to a frightful extent the civilization of a land, impedes the free exercise of the royal power, and imperils and renders almost impossible the regular succession to the throne.

But it may be objected, that though in a kingdom so full of vitality as that of France, where all the elements of moral and social regeneration are becoming every day more active, a military tyranny can never be permanently established, may it not be introduced for a while, and even forced on the present able sovereign by a mutinous soldiery? Are princes independent of the circumstances of their position? Are they independent of the spirit and influence of the institutions that surround them? What is the social organization of France? What are her political prospects for the future? Alas! the answer must be, they depend on the life of one man only.

The Church is, thank God! free; and honour to the emperor who respects and promotes that freedom! But where is the charter of her liberty? What would her condition be if to-morrow, through any disastrous accident, certain members of the imperial family were nominated to the regency?

France has a finely-appointed army—Paris is strongly fortified—and there are, besides, subterranean passages for conveying troops from the Tuileries to the Hotel de Villa. How can the bourgeois ever contrive there to proclaim a Republic? How can the strong man ever be surprised in this citadel of his might? Vain hope! neither fortifications, nor subterranean passages can guard against treachery or rebellion. The first ambitious general that, espying a moment of imperial unpopularity, shall with twenty thousand men make a *coup de main*, and seize on

the Hotel de Ville ; or the first commander who, returning victorious from a campaign, and especially a *revolutionary campaign*, shall lead his prætorian cohorts against the Tuileries, will be master of France. Hence if the present emperor were to be unfaithful to the high mission he has received from Divine Providence ; if he were to forget the claims of religion and social order, the glory and the freedom of his country ; still the instinct of self-preservation should teach him to abhor a military rule. If he wishes to consolidate his power ; if he wishes to found a dynasty, he must then decentralize Paris ; he must overthrow the haughty domination of that capital, which for sixty years has subverted so many governments and so many dynasties ; he must give life to the languishing provinces ; he must bestow large municipal franchises on the cities ; he must establish provincial legislatures ; he must, by every means he can devise, unite the old and the new nobility, and strengthen their position ; he must tolerate a moderate and well-regulated freedom of the press ; he must secure by a formal instrument the rights of the Church.

The policy here recommended is, indeed, a generous one ; but it is a generosity which coincides with the plainest dictates of self-interest. Skill and energy has this emperor displayed in the administration of affairs ; he has crushed anarchy with a strong hand, and protected the liberty of the Church and of education ; nay, more, he has actively promoted the advancement of religion. But, altogether, he evinces no power of organization ; he shows not, except as regards religion (and that itself is a great deal), the large prospective wisdom which embraces the future in its calculations.

All these Napoleonides, indeed, are the children of Force ; with a herculean vigour they strangle the serpents of anarchy ; but those serpents revive ; for these men of strength know not the wise charm that lulls their fury, and takes from them their venom. This was eminently the case with the first Napoleon. And though it were the height of injustice to place on the same level the policy of the nephew, still it were rash to say that that policy was not obnoxious to peculiar dangers. The position of the emperor is itself of a revolutionary origin ; he makes from time to time revolutionary appeals to the political doctrines of 1789, which, in so far as they are contradistin-

guished from those of other ages and countries, are essentially tyrannic and anarchic;* his conduct to the house of Orleans was not only unjust, but revolutionary; he still upholds the false administrative system of his uncle, which renders a stable and free government impracticable; he has pressed at different times revolutionary counsels on the Pope;† while the spirit of ambition and arrogance he has within the last few months displayed, has excited the deep distrust of Europe, and the dissatisfaction of almost all classes of the French nation.

But are not others in some degree responsible for errors and shortcomings in the imperial policy? The Legitimist party committed an enormous fault in declining to attend at court, and to enter into the diplomatic service, or to take office under the present Government. I wish to speak gently of a party, in which I have had so many esteemed friends, and known so many estimable individuals, and which, in a selfish and corrupt age, and under the severest trials, has given to the world so many bright examples of virtue, fidelity, and honour. Indeed, this party errs only from an exaggerated sense of honour. By the neutral position it has taken up, it serves neither the cause of the Church, nor of its country, nor the interests of social order and freedom, nor those of the exiled prince himself. While this self-exclusion from public affairs keeps, of course, its members in a state of political inexperience and incapacity, it throws the emperor into the hands of all sorts of adventurers, with or without a vocation for statesmanship.

He was, it is said, once asked, "Why does not your imperial Majesty call more Catholic members to your councils?" "Where can I get them?" his Majesty replied. Where indeed?

What is there to prevent the great mass of Legitimists

* It is just and fitting to recognize *the material interests* of the Revolution, but not *its peculiar doctrines*. Thus the Popes, by absolving the holders of confiscated church property, recognized in the 16th century the material interests that had sprung up under the Reformation, but never, of course, did they acknowledge its religious tenets.

† Such as the adoption of the Code Napoléon, containing as it does some irreligious enactments.

from acknowledging the present emperor (as many of their party did in regard to Louis Philippe) to be the *de facto* sovereign of France? If Providence design there should be a Restoration, then the policy pursued by the Legitimists will render them incapable of serving their royal master, when he shall be replaced on the throne of his ancestors, and force him to seek counsel from Orleanists and Bonapartists. But if the re-establishment of the House of Bourbon be not among the events preordained, then surely every obstacle to a reconciliation between its adherents and the new Government should be removed. Under every contingency, the policy pursued by this party is ruinous to itself, detrimental to the best interests of religion and society, and utterly unprofitable to the exiled prince himself.

Many Royalist families, I understand, dreading the dangers of idleness for their children, are anxious they should take office under the imperial Government.

But there was another party, on whose co-operation the emperor had a stronger claim than on that of the Catholic Legitimists of France. This was the party of M. de Montalembert and his friends, who hailed with so much satisfaction the *coup d'état* of 1851.

It is with the greatest pain I differ on any subject from so virtuous and distinguished a nobleman as the Count de Montalembert. Every Catholic must feel interested in the fame of one who has rendered such immortal services to religion and to society, and who, young as he still is, has taken his place among the greatest orators of a country so rich in eloquence. Possessed of rare historical knowledge, well versed in classical philology, and singularly familiar with the modern literatures of Europe, his speeches and writings are remarkable for lucid statement, vigorous reasoning, varied illustration, and frequent bursts of a manly eloquence.

He is, however, more successful as an orator than as a publicist; for we miss in his writings not only profound remarks, but accuracy of definition and classification. In a word, scientific analysis and philosophic generalization are the points where this distinguished writer is the least strong. As a practical politician, a certain want of tact and prudence is perceptible in him; and hence he has not retained the hold he had acquired over the minds of French Catholics.

He has fallen into a political error, the reverse of that with which many Royalists are chargeable, who suffer their attachment to a royal family to interfere with the discharge of their duties to religion and to society. He evidently thinks it quite an easy matter for a nation to transfer its affections from one sovereign to another—from a Charles X. to a Louis Philippe, and from a Louis Philippe to a Napoleon III.,—and that, provided adequate guarantees in behalf of the high moral and social interests can be obtained, any dynasty, whatever be its origin, may reckon on the permanent enjoyment of power. He little sees that the foundations of freedom are insecure, when royalty is weak; and that the main strength of royalty is in the time-honoured fealty of generations.

But, be this view of the matter true or false, the Count de Montalembert should have acted up to the line of policy he had once taken; given Napoleon a fair trial; accepted office under him, and endeavoured to moderate his councils; or at all events he should, from his place in the Legislative Assembly, have proposed reasonable, practicable reforms. He should not have exacted of a new Government, and one especially that had sprung up after the recent tremendous Revolution, a measure of freedom consistent only with a long-established pacific rule. He should have remembered that in England, under the reign of William III. and of Queen Anne, the liberties of the subject were more restricted, and necessarily so, than at the present day. How often during their reigns, as well as those of the first Georges, were not Jacobites, on the rumour of any political commotion, banished from the capital and the royal residences? Have the British Government and British Legislature ever hesitated in moments of danger to suspend the Habeas Corpus and other liberties of the subject? No! they well knew that freedom can at times be saved only by a momentary suspension.

Montalembert, in my humble opinion, misapprehends the nature of the British Constitution, and sees not the dangers incident to the modern representative system. Contrary, also, to the opinion of the most eminent publicists of Europe, he evidently believes the American Republic to be a durable concern: a fact which many Americans themselves have at last begun to doubt. On the whole, he appears to have attended more to the

external mechanism, than to the internal organism of states.

These illusions he shares with his celebrated countryman, Chateaubriand, with whom he has many points of resemblance. In both we see the same ardent attachment to the Church—an attachment still more glowing and practical in Montalembert; the same generosity in their political sentiments; but, withal, the same want of precision in their ideas; the same strong sense, but the same general absence of philosophy; and if Chateaubriand is a consummate master in poetic painting, Montalembert equally excels in rhetorical amplification.

Both writers will always live in the memory of France, as men of high genius and exalted character, and who have devoted their gifts to the noblest of all causes—the glory of religion, and the best interests of mankind. And the shortcomings I have candidly stated, should not make us undervalue the many excellent things, which their political writings contain.

I have been arguing on the supposition that Napoleon remains true to those professions he has constantly put forth since his accession to the throne; professions which would have justified honourable men in joining his government. But if he now belies all those professions—if, untrue to the mission Divine Providence had intrusted to him, he aims not at the consolidation of order, and the gradual extension of freedom in France, but consumes his energies in the prosecution of ambitious schemes; then his doom is fixed; then the friends of order, who have hitherto upheld him, will leave him to the Revolution as his only ally. The war in which he has just engaged, can with difficulty be carried on except by the aid of the revolutionary party in Italy, and can scarcely issue but in revolution. For if existing treaties are, without any provocation, to be violated; if reigning dynasties are to be cast aside; if revolutionary chiefs and their bands are to be employed as auxiliaries; if those who reproach Austria with her glorious emancipation of the Church, are to be courted as allies; if military revolt is to be encouraged; if peaceful reform in Italy is to be retarded; what is this but a revolutionary war? And what other but effects fatal to the internal peace of France can such a revolutionary war entail?

If, moreover, the temporal sovereignty of the Pope is

to be disturbed ; if his spiritual independence is to be endangered ; and, consequently, the interests of the universal Church to be compromised by the issue of the present unhappy conflict ; what else but the maledictions of Heaven can await its author ? Then will the anathemas of the Church, and the curses of undeceived Italians pursue him, take the appalling shape of Furies, and hanging over his legions, unnerve their strength, throw their ranks into disarray, and tracking their broken columns over the Alps, follow them and their master to his palace-gates, where treason and rebellion await him. Such, sooner or later, will be the reward of guilty ambition.

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